

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
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MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 24

OCTOBER, 1940

No. 2

NOTES AND NEWS.

IN the absence of the Journal of the University of Manchester, the publication of which has been suspended this year on account of the war, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor John S. B. Stopford, M.D., F.R.S., has issued a message to his Fellow Graduates in the form of a printed letter, in which he has communicated some news of the University in the following terms :

THE UNL-
VERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

Fortunately so far the war has not had such serious effects upon the University as was at one time anticipated. More than a year ago we had been informed that universities must carry on in the event of war, but we expected a very marked reduction in the number of students. We were, therefore, agreeably surprised to find at the opening of the session in October, that the diminution in the number of students was slightly less than 5 per cent. compared with the previous year. The actual number of students in residence during the Michaelmas term exceeded the number in the previous year because we accommodated over one hundred evacuated students from St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, London. The loss of staff was proportionally very much higher. Upwards of forty members of the teaching staff are away with the armed forces or serving in government departments, and a similar number are engaged in part-time work of national importance. This has thrown a heavy strain upon those who remain, but the additional burden has been undertaken willingly and loyally by everyone. There has been no loss of efficiency or lowering of standards and full facilities and courses of study have been available in every department.

The position of students has been much happier than was the case in 1914 when each individual had to make the difficult

decision as to whether he should enlist or remain at his studies. On the whole the students have been treated most fairly and sympathetically, and in their case there has been a real effort to use the man power of the country to the best advantage in the national interest. They have been given guidance as to the right course of action to take in order to support in the best way the needs of the country. Certain groups of students, who have completed a full year in the University, have been reserved and told they must complete their course when, as trained chemists, engineers and the like they will be of greater service to the country in industry and certain branches of the armed forces. The others are expected to pursue their studies until their age group is called up, and postponement has been allowed when a critical examination is to be taken within a reasonable time. The Council and Senate have made special provisions for those who have to interrupt their studies and everything possible is being done to mitigate hardship.

If you visit the University you will find several unusual features in addition to the piles of sandbags and evidence of our A.R.P. scheme. You will probably discover that you were refused admission to some laboratories and parts of departments which were very familiar to you in days gone by. This limitation is due to a considerable amount of special and secret research work which is being conducted by members of the staff and others for government departments and industrial firms engaged upon war work. It has been most gratifying to see the extent and variety of the war effort which is being made by individuals and research teams. In the case of some departments the requests for help have been overwhelming, and no better proof of the value of our universities could be found. For obvious reasons it is impossible to say anything about the character of the work, but at some future time a most interesting and inspiring story can be told.

A year ago when we were making preparations for the changes and adjustments which would have to be put in hand in the event of war, a committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. D. C. Henry, to organise a complete scheme for A.R.P. It was no small job to provide a team some 250 strong of fully

trained wardens, first-aid workers and fire fighters, as well as the necessary refuge accommodation for more than 2000 persons, and to take all the steps which were considered necessary to protect the buildings and specially valuable equipment. In addition smaller schemes had to be organised for the Halls of Residence and other outlying parts of the University. Unfortunately, it was not found possible to provide adequate protection at the Ellis Llwyd Jones Hall, and consequently this Hall had to be closed at the outbreak of war and the residents transferred to Ashburne Hall. So well did Mr. Henry and his colleagues plan the scheme that we were prepared for the emergency long before war broke out, and ever since a few hours after the invasion of Poland a voluntary A.R.P. service has been on duty night and day. Although the service is a voluntary one the scheme has imposed a very heavy financial burden upon the University.

In consequence of problems arising from the blackout and the risk of air raids, social activities in the Unions and elsewhere were much reduced at the beginning of the session, but later it was found possible to extend the facilities, and during the Spring term no one was conscious of any irksome restrictions. Even the popular Shrove Dance was held, and although there was no procession on Shrove Tuesday, the collection for the hospitals realised the considerable sum of well over £3000. As was the case last year, this money will be allocated amongst the various charities by an independent committee mainly composed of people drawn from outside the University.

In athletics such events as tours and inter-varsity games which involved long journeys had to be abandoned, but all the teams were able to arrange a satisfactory list of fixtures with local clubs, and on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons the Firs Athletic Ground has exhibited quite as much activity as in normal times. The opening of the attractive new centre for Recreation and Physical Education in Burlington Street in January has extended considerably the facilities for exercise and has enabled everyone to keep physically fit. The University sports were held on the first Saturday in May, and the larger number of competitors and beautiful day attracted a bigger

crowd than in recent years. A high standard was maintained in all events and three records were broken during the afternoon. On the following Saturday at Liverpool our team was placed first in the Christie Sports.

An interesting innovation during the year has been the formation by the Unions of Study Groups to discuss and investigate contemporary affairs. The effort was admirably organised, the various societies co-operated and a large number of students took part. Much useful work was done, and I was much impressed by the enthusiasm which the enterprise aroused when I presided over a packed inaugural meeting in the Men's Debating Hall. The objective of the groups was a local conference held at the end of the Easter term and a more representative one held later at Leeds, under the auspices of the National Union of Students.

During the summer vacation many students will work on the land to help with the harvest under a scheme arranged by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The Extra-Mural Department has had an exceedingly busy year. With three exceptions all the tutorial classes planned for the winter months were held, and the tutors had many exciting experiences reaching the more remote villages in Cheshire and East Lancashire in the blackout. During the bad weather of February conditions became almost intolerable yet the work was done. In addition to these usual activities the department arranged lectures and demonstrations for the troops in the camps and depots in the region. At one time as many as seventeen centres were being visited each week, and in this useful enterprise we received invaluable assistance from the Local Education Authorities, the Workers' Educational Association and other organisations interested in adult education and the welfare of youth. The lectures were much appreciated and welcomed by the Military authorities, and everyone associated with the effort is convinced that it was well worth doing. Mr. R. D. Waller, the Director of Extra-Mural Studies, and his colleagues are to be congratulated on the excellent way in which they planned a most difficult and intricate new development, and it is gratifying to state that the organisation which Mr. Waller set up served as

a model for others who, following our example, provided a similar service.

The foregoing is of necessity largely a record of the University in war-time, and it may be useful to summarise our aims during such a period.

- (1) To do everything in our power to support the war effort.
- (2) To provide full opportunities for those who are advised and able to attend the University.
- (3) To keep alive interests, activities and aspects of culture which may be forgotten or even destroyed at such a time.
- (4) To plan ahead and keep the University machine in good repair, so that we may be in a position to undertake the important work which will confront us during the period of reconstruction after the war.

Death of the Chancellor.—The University has suffered a severe loss by the death of Lord Crawford who had been our beloved Chancellor since 1923. Possessing ideal qualifications for the position, he held it with conspicuous success and did most valuable work. He had an intimate knowledge of University affairs, and his advice, interest and help has meant more to Manchester University than many may realise. His visits were by no means confined to ceremonial occasions which he graced with such dignity and distinction; he was undoubtedly a "working" Chancellor and his inspiration was a source of strength. We were proud to have him as our Chancellor and shall ever cherish his memory and be mindful of the debt we owe him.

Retirement of Professor W. H. Lang.—It is with universal regret that we hear of the retirement of Professor Lang who has been a member of the Senate since 1909 and for some years the senior member. For long he has been widely recognised as the authority in the field of Cryptogamic Botany, and we are proud of the position which he occupies in the world of Science. Fortunately and happily he is not leaving Manchester in the immediate future, and will therefore be able to continue with his researches in old familiar surroundings and amidst his many friends who will continue to seek his advice on innumerable

problems. Although he dislikes administrative work he will not easily escape from the position of one of our senior statesmen, but we know that the relief from work on committees will be much appreciated by our distinguished colleague and we hope he will long be able to enjoy greater freedom.

Professor Lang is to be succeeded by Dr. C. W. Wardlaw, who for twelve years has held an important research post at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, and who has been for some time Director of the Low Temperature Station. He is a graduate of the University of Glasgow and an authority on the diseases of fruit.

Extensions.—During the last seven years an extensive building scheme has been in progress and we were in the middle of one of its biggest phases when war broke out. If peace had continued during this session we should have begun the erection of a new building for Physical Chemistry, another for Architecture and Education of the Deaf, and a third which provided a Concert Hall and accommodation for the Faculty of Music. In fact during August the site for the latter had been cleared, and this necessitated the demolition of the well-known and much abused Examination Hall in Wright Street. The war has made it necessary to postpone the erection of these three buildings, and the loss of the Examination Hall, which was also used by the Faculty of Music, has caused many anxious moments and considerable inconvenience.

In September the new centre for Recreation and Physical Education and the new Dental Hospital and Turner Dental School were in an advanced stage of construction and it has been possible to complete them. The centre was opened in January for Badminton, Boxing, Fencing, Fives and Squash, and has been much appreciated by students and staff. The swimming bath was made available at the beginning of the summer term, and has been described by those competent to judge as the best bath in Manchester. Already hundreds are using it every week, and in the future it will be the place where many exciting championships and galas are held. The centre contains a miniature rifle range where hundreds of students, members of the staff and A.R.P. workers in the University, are

receiving instruction in the use of a rifle, also new premises for the O.T.C. which are at least the equal of those provided by any other university. For financial reasons it has not been possible to staff the centre as we had intended or to introduce a scheme of medical inspection of all students, but we hope these things are only postponed for a short time. My readers will be interested to know that graduates who are life members of the Athletic Union may use the centre on the payment of a small fee. The Bursar will be glad to give further information to all who are interested.

The Dental Department moved into their palatial new premises early in May. The New Hospital and School has exceeded our expectations, and there is no doubt that to-day it is the largest and best equipped of its kind in the country.

Chair of Medicine.—Though the future is uncertain and the financial position difficult the Council has decided to take a courageous step by the institution of a new Chair of Medicine, the occupant of which will devote practically his full time to teaching and research. This is an advance which will strengthen greatly the clinical part of the medical course and have far-reaching results upon our medical school and the hospital services of the city. It is hoped that an appointment to the new chair will be made before the beginning of next session.

Manchester mourns the loss of one of her most famous sons, Sir Joseph John Thomson, O.M., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, since 1918, and for more than thirty years Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge, whose death occurred on Saturday, the 30th of August, at the age of 83 years.

SIR JOSEPH J. THOMSON, O.M.

Joseph John Thomson was born at Cheetham, Manchester, on the 18th of December, 1856, and became a student at Owens College at the age of 14, with the intention of adopting the profession of engineering. The event caused such a stir that the age limit was immediately raised.

The fascination of mathematics and physical studies, under Balfour Stewart, so gripped him that he was soon engaged in research, and his first paper was submitted to the Royal

Society from Owens College, and published in the "Proceedings" in 1876. He entered into residence as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1876. Since that date his connexion with the college was unbroken. In 1880 he was second wrangler and Smith's prizeman, and was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity. The senior wrangler that year was Sir Joseph Larmor, another great intellect. Thomson was made Lecturer in Mathematics at Trinity in 1883, and in the following year he was appointed to succeed Lord Rayleigh as Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics in the University at the early age of 27. At the time, it is reported, that one well-known college tutor had expressed the opinion that things had come to a pretty pass in the University when mere boys were made professors.

The Cavendish Professorship was not founded until 1871, and the successive occupants of the chair have been Clerk Maxwell, Rayleigh, Thomson, and Rutherford. It is almost certain that no similar position was ever occupied in succession by four men of such great and varied genius.

Thomson was a man of great gifts and dominating personality, and his death, following so soon after that of Sir Oliver Lodge, robs the country of another of its most famous scientists. To his brilliant research work the world owes much of the knowledge of the atom and the discovery of the electron, while he also predicted the discovery and properties of radium. Like Newton with the law of gravitation and Einstein with his theory of relativity, Thomson was on the track of his main discovery before the age of 25.

Thomson received practically all the honours to which a scientific man can attain. He was knighted in 1908, received the Order of Merit in 1912, from 1916 to 1920 he was President of the Royal Society. In 1906 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics, the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1914, and the Kelvin Medal in 1936. Twenty universities presented him with degrees, eleven learned societies with fellowships, and nine others with medals.

Perhaps the greatest honour came to him in 1937, when he heard with pride that his son, Professor George Paget Thomson

had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics, just thirty years after his father had received the same award, which constitutes a record for son and father to receive separate Nobel prizes.

In his "Recollections and Reflections," which was published in 1936, the writer remarks, in regard to his early education at Owens College and Trinity: "Few can have owed more to scholarships than I do, for without them I could not have stayed at Owens or gone to Trinity."

On his 80th birthday he could boast that for sixty years he had never missed a day during term at Cambridge. In all that time his work had not once been interrupted by bad health.

He had a knowledge of the ordinary affairs of life and a sense of humour, which the great scholars sometimes lack.

The present King and the Duke of Gloucester studied under him at Trinity, and the late Lord Rutherford was among his early students at the Cavendish Laboratory.

Professor Rowley has contributed to the present issue a most interesting study of "The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule," in which he has presented a good deal of material which is not commonly known, and which is not readily accessible. THE GOLDEN RULE. The Golden Rule is discussed as it occurs in the Gospels and as it is found elsewhere, and parallels have been collected from Classical, Jewish, Indian and Chinese sources by means of which the negative and the positive forms are contrasted, and it is made perfectly clear that among China's sages there is none who can offer a true parallel to the Golden Rule of the Gospels.

Professor Rowley concludes with a passage which we cannot refrain from reproducing here: "When Jesus teaches men to love their neighbours as themselves, He does more than lift a word out of the Old Testament and make it His own. He fills it with a content which is plainly surprising to His hearers, by interpreting it to include even the hated enemy, but more than that, He makes it the corollary of a deeper love."

Until the second half of last century little was known in Europe of the fame of Ibn Khaldūn, the fourteenth-century Muslim scholar, and of his importance for the study not only of history in general but also of the rise and development of such special sciences as government, economics and sociology. He has been described as the inventor of a new science of history.

IBN
KHALDŪN,
HISTORIAN,
SOCIOLOGIST,
PHILOSOPHER.

During the last forty years his significance has come to be recognised, and the name of Ibn Khaldūn has become a landmark for the development of historical studies because he has enunciated the proposition that history is a special science having for its object all the social phenomena of man's life, and he has been hailed by sociologists as the father of sociology.

Ibn Khaldūn's aim was to discover the general principles governing the rise and fall of dynastic states and civilisations by the study of all the historically given facts of man's social life, and like Machiaevelli, he believed in the cyclic nature of these institutions.

Dr. Rosenthal, in the article which he contributes to the present issue, has rendered a service to the students of history and sociology by offering to them, for the first time in English, a reasoned résumé of Ibn Khaldūn's system. The plan he has followed has been to let Ibn Khaldūn speak for himself in passages wherein he sets forth his ideas on the methods and purpose of history, inserting only occasional paragraphs of his own for reasons of elucidation.

Dr. Herbert George Wood, who for many years has been Director of Studies of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham, has been appointed to the newly formed Chair of Theology in the University of Birmingham, and will take up his duties on the 1st of October.

BIRMINGHAM
CHAIR OF
THEOLOGY.

This chair has been founded and endowed by Dr. Edward Cadbury, and it is the intention of the University to develop a Faculty of Theology with a post-graduate degree and diploma in theological studies.

In consequence of the lighting restrictions still imposed under the Air Raid Precautions the regular evening series of public lectures has been suspended for the time being, and a short series of afternoon lectures has been substituted, to commence at three o'clock during the ensuing session.

RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 9th October, 1940. "Browning and Religion." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1940. "Psychoanalysis and Normal Psychology." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th December, 1940. "Guernsey: a Sociological Study." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th January, 1941. "St. Paul in Ephesus: (3) The Corinthian Correspondence." By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th February, 1941. "The Collapse of France in 1419." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1941. "Temple and Torah." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

The following is a list of publications issued by the Library since the last issue of the BULLETIN:—

"The Brethren of the Common Life." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

RECENT
RYLANDS
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

"St. Paul at Ephesus: 2, The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians." By T. W. Manson, D.Litt., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

- "Armed Religious Ascetics in Northern India." By W. G. Orr, M.A., B.D., D.D., Missionary (retired) of the Church of Scotland in Rajputana, India. 8vo, pp. 22. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Psychology of Psychologists." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 22. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Notes on late Medieval German Tales in praise of 'Docta Ignorantia'." By F. P. Pickering, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in German Language and Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Rashi and the English Bible." By Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 32. Price eighteenpence net.
- "A Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Charter." By Helen Richardson, B.Litt. 8vo, pp. 6, with facsimile. Price one shilling net.

Original grant by Roger (III) de Montbegon (d. 1226) to Monk Bretton Priory, co. York, with Roger's seal in green wax. This charter was formerly preserved in St. Mary's Tower, York (blown up by the Parliamentarians in 1644), in which all the records taken out of the religious houses on the North side of Trent at their dissolution were repositied. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, 136, no. viii.

RECENT
MANUSCRIPT
ACCESSIONS.

"The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye," 16th century.

"The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye," 15th century. (Rotograph of B.M. Harleian MS. 78, ff. 36-52v.)

Sermons of William Benn, copied by Richard Alleine, 1662. (Presented by Edgar Johnson, Esq.) For Benn and Alleine see *D.N.B.*

Two 17th-century deeds relating to Heath Charnock, co. Lanc. (Presented by Roland Austin, Esq., Records Office, Shire Hall, Gloucester).

Extracts from Macclesfield Forest Halmot, 17th century. Five items. (Deposited by Colonel Ramsden Jodrell.)

A collection of five hundred and forty-six 17th and 18th

century business letters and papers from the Clayton Papers. For Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707), alderman, sheriff, Lord Mayor and M.P. for London, see *D.N.B.*

A collection of one thousand five hundred charters and documents, formed by the late Richard Henry Wood, Esq. (Deposited by Captain J. Hatton Wood.) The collection falls into two main divisions: miscellaneous items acquired from various sources and deeds relating to the family of Legh of Norbury Booths Hall, Cheshire. It ranges in date from the early 12th to the 18th century.

A map of the lands in the township of Much Hoole, co. Lanc., belonging to Peter Legh of Lyme, Esq., 1747. (Presented by John Lunn, Esq.)

Two hundred and sixty-nine miscellaneous deeds and documents relating to the northern counties, mostly Cheshire and Lancashire, 17-19th century. (Deposited by the British Records Association.)

Eighty-nine documents relating to Manchester, Flixton, and Urmston, 18-19th century. (Deposited by Harold Waring Atkinson, Esq.)

Thirty-nine Cheshire and eighty-seven Lancashire documents, 16th-19th century. (Deposited by the Society of Genealogists.)

The following titles represent a selection of the current works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue:—

GENERAL
ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: "LE ARTI: rassegna bimestrale dell' arte antica e moderna, a cura della Direzione Generale delle Arti," 2 vols., 4to; BAIN (James S.), "A bookseller looks back: a story of the Bains," 8vo; BEZA (Marcu), "Byzantine Art in Roumania," 8vo; "DURHAM CATHEDRAL MANUSCRIPTS to the end of the 12th century, with introduction by R. A. B. Mynors," Folio; GROVES (Sir George), "Dictionary of Music and Musicians, supplementary volume, edited by H. C. Colles," 8vo; HENRY (Françoise), "La sculpture Irlandaise pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne," 2 vols., 4to; PEVSNER (N.), "Academies of art past

and present," 8vo ; RICCI (Seymour de), "Census of medieval manuscripts in the United States and Canada," 3 vols., Folio ; "THE TICKHILL PSALTER and related manuscripts : a school of illumination in England during the early fourteenth century, by Donald Drew Egbert," Folio.

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY : ANNANDALE (N.), "The Faroes and Iceland : studies in island life" (1905), 8vo ; BEERS (H. P.), "Bibliographies in American history : guide to materials for research," 8vo ; BELLOC (Hilaire), "Charles the First, King of England," 8vo ; BIENENFELD (F. R.), "The Germans and the Jews," 8vo ; BLOCH (M.), "La société féodale : les classes et le gouvernement des hommes," 8vo ; BRABANT (F. H.), "The beginning of the third republic in France : a history of the National Assembly, 1871," 8vo ; BROWNLOW (Emma Sophia, Countess), "The eve of Victorianism : reminiscences of the years 1802 to 1834," 8vo ; "BRYCE'S AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH : Fiftieth anniversary (papers and essays read on the occasion), edited by R. C. Brooks," 8vo ; CHODZKO (L.), "La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et pittoresque" (1836-1847), 4 vols., 8vo ; CONNELLY (W.), "The reign of Beau Brummel : his rise and fall," 8vo ; CUTTINO (G. P.), "English diplomatic administration (1259-1339)," 8vo ; DARBY (H. C.), "The medieval Fenland," 8vo ; DIXON (C. Willis), "The Colonial administration of Sir Thomas Maitland," 8vo ; DIXON (Pierson), "The Iberians of Spain and their relations with the Ægean World," 8vo ; FEDERN (Karl), "The materialist conception of history (the Marxian theory)," 8vo ; FELLOWES (E. H.), "The Knights of the Garter, 1348-1939, with a complete list of stallplates in St. George's Chapel," 8vo ; FIRTH (Sir Charles), "The regimental history of Cromwell's army," 8vo ; FOX (Levi), "The administration of the Honor of Leicester in the 14th century, with an introductory note by F. M. Powicke," 8vo ; GARSTANG (J. and J. B. E.), "The Story of Jericho (i.e. of the succession of cities we call Jericho)," 8vo ; GEORGE III, King, "George III and William Pitt, 1783-1806, by D. Grove Barnes," 8vo ; GIBBON (Edward), "Edward Gibbon's Library : a catalogue edited with introduction by Geoffrey Keynes," 8vo ; GLOTZ (Gustave),

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING
IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF TYPOGRAPHY.

PRINTING, like every other art, and like all the great discoveries of modern science, has had to pass through all the stages of an imperfect infancy and a gradual growth before it could be carried to the full flower of its development, which was reached in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

The literal meaning of the term printing is "making or taking an impression," and in the light of that definition we can push back the history of this art to the time when Nature was printing on the pliant rocks, in the various strata of the earth's crust, representations of animals and trees, which may be regarded as a life-history entombed ages before human history began.

It may be said, therefore, that the art of printing, in its broadest aspect, is as old as Creation, and that the world possessed books long before it knew how to produce them and to multiply them by mechanical means.

These books of nature were the seed germs from which our modern books have evolved. Primeval man, unconsciously, was following Nature's example, when, with a pointed flint flake or a sharpened bone he scratched pictures and symbols on the walls of his cave dwelling, or, later, when he had reached a more settled state of civilization he impressed symbols and characters upon tablets or cylinders of clay, upon slabs and obelisks of stone, or upon staves and planks of wood.

But there were several links in the chain of development before the actual stage of human record was reached. Language itself was of necessity a slow development, and equally slow was the next step, for speech existed some time before man discovered that the human voice which informed the brain through

the ear could be represented by a combination of marks and symbols which produced the same result through the eye.

It was this stage in the development to which Aristotle referred when he said, "letters are marks of words just as words are marks of thoughts," and it was by means of this art of writing that the progress of the human race was assured. Indeed, it may be regarded as the most important stage in the evolution of the art of printing, which has been described as the art of rapid or mechanical writing.

As we turn back the pages of history we find that in every age, as the demand for knowledge has grown, new methods for supplying it have been improvised. In the period of the Renaissance, so truly phenomenal was the growth of the new intellectual movement which from the twelfth century had been gradually stirring men's minds, that the slow process of hand-copying, which had obtained for so long, was totally inadequate to meet the growing demand for the necessary instruments of instruction which the new movement brought with it. Consequently, new and more rapid methods of production were developed, and slowly mechanical writing was evolved.

In the whole history of book-production there is no more fascinating chapter than that which treats of the block-prints and block-books, which led up to that later development of the art known as typography, when movable or separate metal characters or types which could be used again and again in a variety of combinations were employed for the first time.

These block-books, and the block-prints which certainly preceded them, whatever place is assigned to them in the evolution of the art of printing, consisted of single pictures, or collections of pictures, printed from engraved slabs or blocks of wood, and made up into books, for which reason they are described as "block-prints" or "block-books," as the case may be.

They were the earliest European specimens of the wood-engraver's art of cutting a design in relief upon slabs or blocks of wood, so that the raised parts when inked will transfer the design to paper. The impression may be taken as in ordinary printing by means of a press, by friction or by pressure, as was the case before the printing press was evolved.

But the first definite steps towards the art of multiplying texts or pictures by these mechanical means, must be sought not in the western world but in the Near and Far East, where the ancients were employing engraved or carved stamps, seals, and gems, with which to impress designs or letters upon some plastic material such as clay or wax, and from which, at a later period, they took inked impressions on papyrus, paper, and other materials, in the same way that we use a metal or rubber-stamp to-day.

Centuries before the western world had made acquaintance with any mechanical method of book-production the Chinese had developed from the seal impression the method of block-printing, which afterwards found its way into Europe, and had also evolved a system of typography.

Some authorities go back to the third millennium B.C., when the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, and later the Greeks and Romans, were employing seals and stamps to impress soft substances such as clay and wax with designs or characters with which to mark tablets, lamps, wine-jars, and other vessels, either for the purpose of authentication, or to indicate the names or initials of the potters, the owners, or the contents of the vessels.

In Sumeria, at least as early as 2400 B.C., seals of the temple stewards, scribes, archivists, and other officials were employed for the authentication of documents which took the form of clay tablets in the great palace temples, and of which large quantities have come down to us.

The Greeks also had engraved gems of great beauty which were no doubt used as seals, as well as the stamps with which they stamped signs or initials on the handles of wine-jars, lamps, and other vessels of domestic use. Then there were the coins of Macedonia and of the Sasanian Empire of Persia which were stamped in a relief as bold as that of the best pieces of modern mints.

The old Roman potters marked their manufactures with the name or initial of the owner, or of the contents of the vessel, therefore like the Greeks they were familiar with the use of movable types.

But the Romans went one step further than any of the other

ancient peoples already referred to by smearing their stamps or seals, which had been cut in reverse, with a coloured paint, which, when impressed on papyrus, the common writing material of those days, left upon it a coloured impression in print.

It was the custom under the Roman Empire to imprint in red, in this manner, upon papyrus documents such as deeds of sale and similar instruments, a stamp bearing the name and regnal year of the Emperor, which was called a *charagma*, the same word as is used in Rev. xiii. 16, where the beast causeth the inhabitants to assume his mark.

In China the first state seal of which there is any record is that of Ts'ih Shih Huang (246-209 B.C.), which was a seal of jade called "the seal of inheritance of Empire." Before the adoption of the seal in China, when the Emperor issued orders, he took a piece of jade or bamboo and broke it in half, handing one half to the official to whom the order was given, retaining the other half himself, as a proof of the genuineness of the order. In like manner, when a patent of nobility was bestowed, the token was the half of a piece of jade, of which the other half was kept in the imperial possession.

The transition from the broken jade to the seal was a natural one, and may have been hastened by events which were taking place in another part of Asia. Just a hundred years before Ts'ih Shih Huang's conquests, Alexander the Great had conquered parts of India, and had brought Greek culture to certain countries of Central Asia which were not far from the expanding borders of China, the country now called Chinese Turkestan. Evidences of this mingling of eastern and western influences were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein a few years ago in Turkestan, in the shape of a collection of documents bearing seals, the devices of which were in some cases Chinese characters, in others elephants and other Indian emblems, whilst in others were to be found heads of Zeus, Eros, and Medusa.

With the adoption of the seal during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the use of seals became steadily more common, and seal-cutting came to be a fine art. The seal impressions at this time were made, like those of Sumeria and Europe, in a soft substance such as clay without colouring matter. Later

(A.D. 619-907) impressions were made not in clay, but in red paint or ink on paper, like the impressions of the Roman Imperial *charagma*.

These stamped seal impressions brought about the natural development of the block-print, and there is little doubt that the printing of textiles had a part in preparing the way for block-printing on paper. Whether in Asia or in Europe this printing on textiles formed a background which made the learning of the new art of printing on paper a comparatively simple transition. It may have arisen from chance or because of a demand for paper with patterns printed on it for decorating walls, instead of the printed textiles hitherto used for hangings. There is a fundamental difference in the character of the prints on textiles, whether of silk or of cotton, and those on paper. The designs on textiles were purely for ornamentation, whilst those on paper were objects of piety for edification. This is equally true whether in China, Japan, Central Asia, Egypt, or in Europe.

Before there could be any great development of block-printing, either in Europe or in the East, a plentiful supply of paper was necessary, and in Europe this could not
INVENTION
OF PAPER.
 well have been before the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Paper was one of the most complete of China's inventions, and it had been a fully developed art for something like a thousand years before it set out upon its triumphal journey to the West. This westward movement prepared the way for printing, and its history is suggestive of the route by which knowledge of the art of printing travelled to us. Therefore, in order to discover the course which block-printing took, it is necessary to understand something of the history of paper.

In the dynastic records of China the date of the invention of paper is carefully recorded as A.D. 105. Ts'ai Lun is generally regarded as the inventor, and has been deified as the god of the paper makers. Recent investigations, however, have brought to light a reference to paper in A.D. 102, and has led to the deduction that Ts'ai Lun was not the inventor but the patron of the invention.

In the history of the Han Dynasty, written about A.D. 470,

it is stated that from the time of the invention it was used universally, and other authorities confirm the statement that its spread throughout China was very rapid. Indeed, papers of every kind, made of rags, discarded fishing nets, hemp, plant-fibres, etc., for writing, wrapping, and domestic purposes were in general use in China for a thousand years before we knew anything about it in the western world. Sir Aurel Stein, in 1904, discovered certain letters in Turkestan, in one of the ruined towers of the great wall, which were written within fifty years of the date of the invention, upon what has proved under microscopical examination to be rag paper.

The perfected invention was passed on to the Arabs at Samarkand in the middle of the eighth century. There are, however, a collection of texts in Sanskrit on paper, recently found at Gilghit in the Kashmir region said to date from the sixth century, and eighty paper manuscripts, some of which have Chinese writing upon them, one of which bears the date A.D. 705. In A.D. 793 a rival factory was set up at Baghdad, where Haraun al-Rashid of "Arabian Nights" fame, introduced Chinese workmen for the starting of a paper-making plant.

The next centre was Damascus, which for several centuries was the main source of supply for Europe. This paper came to be known as *charta Damascena*. From Damascus the secret of paper-making passed into Europe by way of Egypt, and in the eighth century that country adopted the manufacture, and it steadily displaced papyrus, which had been the common writing material on that continent for at least three thousand years.

From Egypt the manufacture passed to Morocco, at Fez, about A.D. 1100, and thence to Spain, which was its first appearance in Europe. For a century the manufacture remained in the hands of the Saracens, though Christians seem gradually to have learned the art as the Christian conquest advanced.

It has been asserted that the first recorded paper mill to be set up in Christendom was in Hérault, on the French side of the Pyrenees, in 1189, but this is based on a mistaken date, and it is doubtful whether such a mill ever existed. It is, however, established that there were paper mills in Southern France

in the thirteenth century. At the same time Europe's needs were largely supplied from the Saracen mills of Damascus and Spain.

Meanwhile, paper was being imported into Europe by two other routes. Paper from Damascus became an important article of commerce chiefly through Constantinople, and paper from Africa entered through Sicily. In 1276 the first mill was set up in Italy, in Montefano, which soon rivalled and then outstripped Spain and Damascus as the sources of Europe's supply.

In Germany the use of paper increased steadily during the fourteenth century, but it was not of native manufacture, being imported principally from Italy. Towards the end of the fourteenth century South Germany was receiving supplies from Venice and Milan, and the Rhineland from France, although the supply from Damascus had not altogether ceased. Nuremberg was the first place in Germany to set up a mill, and that was not done until 1390.

England obtained her supplies from France, Italy, and Germany down to 1494, when the first mill was set up at Hertford in Kent, by John Tate.

It was the coming of paper that made the development of printing possible, and it was the development of printing that made the use of paper general.

As soon as Europe began to print, first from blocks and then from movable types, paper rapidly took its place as the principal material for writing as well as for printing, although the first mill in England was not set up until seventeen years after Caxton began to print in this country.

It is impossible to say with any degree of accuracy when the transition from clay and wax impressions to paper and ink impressions took place. This may be said, however, that the same impulse appears to have been behind these early examples of printing, whether in China, in Egypt, or in Europe. The languages were different, the religions were different, but they all represent the effort of the common people to get into their hands a bit of the sacred word, or a sacred picture, which is believed to possess supernatural power, but which they could not themselves write or

IMPULSE
BEHIND
EARLY
PRINTS.

paint, and which they could not afford to buy unless reproduced for them by some less costly or laborious process.

In every advance that printing made in new territory its motive was the expansion of religion. From its beginnings in China down to the present day, there is scarcely a language or a country in which the first printing executed has not been from the sacred Scriptures, or the sacred art of one of the world's great religions.

It may well be that the Taoist charm-makers were the world's first block-printers, but whether Buddhist or Taoist in origin, it is evident that the large-scale demand for charms for warding off evils or for curing disease, or prayer formulas and printing of religious figures, would have a widespread popular demand among the illiterate though religious and superstitious people.

China began by printing Buddhist pictures and texts. Japan had been printing for six centuries before she produced or attempted to print anything but Buddhist sacred art. In Central Asia down to the time of the Mongol conquest the mass of printed literature consisted of Buddhist books. In Egypt the printing that was going on throughout the time of the Crusades consisted of verses of the Ku'rān and prayers. In Europe the block-printers produced biblical pictures, whilst Gutenberg's first important book was a Bible.

The earliest well-defined block-print extant dates from A.D. 770 and comes from Japan. It is to the zeal for Buddhism of the Japanese Empress Shotoku that the world owes this first certain and clearly attested record of printing with wooden blocks on paper. This Empress, who reigned with interruptions from A.D. 748 to 769, ordered the printing of one million charms, to be placed in one million tiny pagodas, and it was sometime about the year A.D. 770 that the work was finished, and the charms distributed. These charms were in the Sanskrit language but written in Chinese characters. They were deposited in various temples, where many of them still survive. Three of these charms measuring about eighteen inches long by two inches wide, are now in the possession of the British Museum.

The earliest printed book extant comes from China, and is

dated A.D. 868. It was found by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 in Turkestan, and is now in the British Museum. It is known as "The Diamond Sutra," which is a section of the Buddhist Scriptures in roll form. It consists of a number of discourses of Buddha to his aged disciple Subhuti, on the subject of the non-existence of all things. The transcription of this sacred text became a favourite method of acquiring merit among Buddhists, and so it still remains. The book consists of six sheets of text, each two and a half feet long by a foot broad, indicating the size of the blocks employed. On a shorter sheet is a woodcut of excellent technique and beauty. These sheets are pasted together so as to form one continuous roll of sixteen feet in length. At the end, printed in the text, is the statement that the book was printed on May 11, 868, by Wang Chieh, for general distribution, in order, in deep reverence, to perpetuate the memory of his mother. The excellent technique of this woodcut shows that it is not a primitive bit of printing, but that there must have been a period of evolution behind it.

The first non-Buddhist printing, in the form of a complete block-printed edition of the Nine Confucian Classics and their commentators in one hundred and thirty volumes, was presented to the Emperor in A.D. 953. The cutting on wood rather than on stone appears to have been a makeshift. The impoverished state having no money with which to have the text cut in stone, as previous dynasties had done, led them to adopt the cheaper method. The work of editing and printing extended over twenty-one years, which were years of civil war.

The progress of printing in China from this time was very rapid, and in confirmation of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that the whole of the Buddhist canon, usually known as the "Tripitaka," which consists of 1521 separate works in more than five thousand volumes, was carried through as early as 972.

In Korea, in the tenth century, a revised copy of the "Tripitaka" was printed by order of the King of Korea, a work which occupied fourteen years, and filled 6467 volumes.

Thus for several hundred years before block-printing was known and practised in Europe all Eastern Asia was printing, and in many parts on a large scale.

The question : " How did printing come into Europe ? " is still a matter of speculation. This may be said, however, that by piecing together the various statements that have been handed down, and the circumstantial evidence which we find scattered up and down the records of travels and trade missions, we can arrive at a fairly accurate idea of how the influence of the block-printing of China entered Europe during the time of the Mongol Empire, and had its part in bringing about the use and development of that activity which in turn paved the way to Gutenberg's invention.

In Europe as in China the motive or impulse behind printing was the expansion of religion, and there is little doubt that the first men in mediaeval Europe to take an active interest in this method of multiplying by mechanical means the religious pictures, by the aid of which the Bible story was being conveyed to the illiterate, were members of the religious orders.

The first missionary sent to China by Pope Boniface VIII, in 1294, was John of Monte Corvino, to whom was sent in 1307 three Franciscans, with the rank of bishops, to assist him.

These and other missionaries working in China must have come into contact with printed literature at every turn, and may have been responsible for the introduction of this art into Europe.

It is not unlikely that the art of printing was brought from China in the wake of trade. In the middle of the fourteenth century printing was being practised in Persia, for we know that paper money was issued at Tabriz, the Mongol capital of that country, with whom the Venetians and Genoese enjoyed trading privileges.

In the first quarter of the fourteenth century Rashid-Eddin, a man of broad education, who was prime minister to the greatest of the Mongol emperors, Ghazan Khan, was entrusted with the preparation of a history of the Mongol Empire. This was followed by a history of the world completed in the year 1310, in which there is a section dealing with China, containing a clear description of Chinese block-printing from what was evidently a reliable source of information. The chronicle was a widely read book, and could not have failed to spread abroad the idea of mechanically producing books by this method.

The Mongol power collapsed during the middle decades of the fourteenth century, and in the following half-century block-printing made its appearance in Europe, but there is no evidence to show by which of the many routes it entered this continent.

Not only was block-printing a gift from China, but movable type was a development of the eleventh century in China, when a man of cotton, meaning a man of the common people, named Pi Shêng, discovered how to make types of baked clay, and a full description of the discovery, and of the method of setting has come down to us, but it was never extensively used. The reason was that the Chinese never developed an alphabet, and since they had something like 40,000 different characters in their language this multiplicity of characters rendered the process of type-setting a very difficult process, and it was quicker to hack out a document on a block than to set it in type. It will be realized how difficult was the process of type-setting in China, when it is explained that the smallest fount of Chinese characters generally sold contains 6000 different types, and this would suffice only for the most ordinary kind of work. A well-equipped press would require founts of some 10,000 types.

Dr. T. F. Carter¹ says there is evidence that Korea was printing from metal type in the early part of the fifteenth century, and that in 1392 a type foundry was set up in that country.

The high-water mark of block-printing in China was reached during the Sung Dynasty (960-1280) when lyric poetry gave way to learned prose, to great compendiums of history, to works on natural science and political economy of a quality and character such as neither China nor the West, except for a short period in Greece, had ever dreamed of.

In quality, the block-printing of the Sung Dynasty has never been surpassed. The craftsmen were artists who produced in print very beautiful calligraphy, and in so doing set up a standard for all time.

To give some idea of the magnitude of the work produced during this period, it needs only to be stated that one important

¹ T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China*, New York, 1925, pp. 169-179.

work was a voluminous commentary on the classics which filled no fewer than one hundred and eighty volumes. Another monumental work in hundreds of volumes, the printing of which occupied nearly seventy years, consisted of the great dynastic histories, which was carried to a successful completion by the end of the tenth century.

These were national undertakings, but side by side with them private printing was gaining ground, and spreading through the Empire. Even in the private printing offices nothing was printed that was not considered to be of great worth and dignity. It was not until Mongol times (1280-1368) that the scope of literature was so broadened as to admit the novel and the drama, probably a reflection of Persian influence. The novel and drama at that time were considered to be almost vulgar literature, if indeed the term literature could be applied to them at all. There was, and still is, in China, a sacredness surrounding the written word which impels men, as a pious act, to gather and burn printed scraps of paper, and so save them from being defiled.

The material employed for the blocks was generally a soft wood such as pear or apple tree. The wooden plank was squared to the shape and dimensions required. The surface was then rubbed over with paste or size made of boiled rice.

The text or picture was transcribed or drawn on thin transparent paper, which was pasted face down, and so inverted, on to the block. The block-cutter then hacked away that portion of the surface which was not covered by ink, leaving the characters or pictures in high relief. The block was then covered with a thin watery ink and the impression was taken by placing a sheet of paper on the inked surface and pressing it down by rubbing the back with a brush or frotton. So expert and expeditious are the Chinese block-printers that it is possible for one man to take off two thousand copies a day.

The block was generally of sufficient size to provide for two pages of text. The paper being thin it was only printed on one side, so that each sheet gave two printed pages, which were folded back so as to bring the blank sides to inward contact. The fold being at the outer edge of the book the sheets were stitched together in that order.

When we turn to the history of block-printing in Europe, we find there is considerable uncertainty as to whether religious pictures or playing cards were the first objects upon which the wood-cutter practised his art. There is little doubt, however, that both sorts of printing were very closely connected, and that they were often carried on side by side by the same person.

Although it is impossible to confirm the suggestion that playing cards coming from China brought block-printing with them to the West, there is evidence at least sufficient to suggest that they hold an important place in the entry of this art into Europe.

Playing cards belong to a group of games, having dice as their background, that spread over a considerable part of Asia before the time of the Crusades.

Plutarch is responsible for the statement that dice were an early invention of the Egyptians, and that they spread from Egypt throughout the Roman Empire, and found their way into China early in the Christian era. The earliest reference to their presence in the Far East, however, is from the year 501 B.C., when, says tradition, Lao-tzū brought back the game from the western barbarians.

The earliest reference to playing cards in Europe is that which relates to St. Louis of France, who, upon his return from the Crusades in 1254, found his dominions given up to the vice of card-playing, and prohibited their further use.

The earliest authentic reference for their introduction into any part of Germany is 1377. There, as in other parts of Europe, the vice of gambling became so rife towards the close of the fourteenth century, that cards were prohibited in many places, notably at Nuremberg between 1380 and 1384, at Ulm in 1397, and at Augsburg in 1400, 1403, and 1406. At Nordlingen, card-playing continued to be illegal until 1440.

In Paris card-playing became so popular that on the 22nd of January, 1397, the Provost of the city issued a decree forbidding working people to play at tennis, bowls, dice, cards, or ninepins on working days. The Synod of Langres also found it necessary, in 1404, to forbid the clergy to play cards.

A climax seems to have been reached in May, 1423, if the

story related by Schreiber is to be believed, when St. Bernardino of Siena preached a famous sermon from the steps of St. Peter's at Rome against card-playing. The saint, according to the story, preached with such effect that his hearers rushed to their houses, brought back such cards and games of hazard as they possessed to the public square, where they were burnt. Whereupon one card-maker, who felt that his business had been ruined by the sermon, went in tears to the saint: "Father," said he, "I am a card-maker and know no other trade. You have forbidden me to make cards, and have condemned me and my family to die of starvation." Said St. Bernardino: "If you know how to paint, paint this image," showing him the image of Christ with the monogram "I.H.S." in the centre of a halo of glory.

The source of the story is not given but it is of interest as having given rise to the suggestion that religious prints were intended as a corrective, which should counteract the vice of card-playing. These attacks upon the popular pastime were without any permanent effect, for at the end of the fifteenth century playing cards were more popular than ever.

Without doubt the earliest of these cards were painted and not printed, and there is no evidence of the existence of printed cards before 1441, the year when the Signoria of Venice were persuaded by the local manufacturers to place an embargo on the importation of foreign printed pictures and cards.

Religious pictures of a much earlier date have been preserved in considerable quantities. They were produced chiefly for distribution to the pilgrims RELIGIOUS
PRINTS. at the popular shrines in the centre of Europe.

The practice of going on pilgrimage was very frequent in the fourteenth century and received a great accession of popularity when Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) extended the privilege of granting indulgences to places of pilgrimage other than the basilicas of Rome. Cologne and Munich were the first places in Germany to receive the privilege, and the grants were continued by succeeding Popes, with the result that a great many pilgrims journeyed to these favoured sanctuaries.

The block-prints given or sold to the pilgrims were of a

limited range of subjects, which consisted of a number of popular saints such as : St. Anthony, St. Bridget, St. Christopher, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Jerome, and St. Sebastian, with a number of biblical subjects such as : the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and other scenes of the Passion. These formed the stock-in-trade of the religious houses of the first half of the fifteenth century.

The pilgrims returning from the various shrines carried these pictures home and pasted them in their books of devotion, when they possessed such treasured volumes, or they put them up on the walls of their dwellings, and in doing so they took the first step towards bringing one of the attractions of the church within the domestic circle. It was the erection of a private shrine.

These pictures were very crude at first, consisting of figures or pictures copied no doubt from illuminated manuscripts, enamels or ivories. Whilst many of them are crude, others are of great artistic merit. They were printed in outline, and were intended to be filled in with colour by hand, which is sometimes harmonious but sometimes garish.

At first they do not appear to have been common articles of trade made for sale by professional wood-cutters. More probably they were the work of the monks themselves or of the lay craftsmen dependent on the monasteries. The production of these prints continued throughout the fifteenth century, and it is thought that a guild of craftsmen grew up, who sold the blocks to the religious houses with the necessary supply of paper and other material to enable them to make prints. Indeed, there is evidence that heads of religious establishments were in possession of such sets.

The earliest of the religious prints which have come down to us have no textual or descriptive matter of any kind upon them, but we are on firmer ground when we come to the figures which are furnished with symbols, having reference to some outstanding incidents in the life of the particular saint represented, by which he or she may be identified, although as yet they have no textual matter upon them.

The St. Anthony print (plate 1) illustrates this stage. It



I. THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "ST. ANTHONY THE HERMIT." IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.



THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN." IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

is furnished with symbols, which refer to incidents in his life. The succeeding stage is represented by St. Bridget (plate 2) which in addition to the distinguishing symbols has a textual inscription in the form of an invocation: "obrigita bit got fir uns."

Very few actual dates occur on prints of the first half of the fifteenth century, and in several instances where such dates do occur they are believed to refer to some historical event, rather than to the year in which they were produced.

In the Royal Library at Brussels is preserved a very famous print of the Madonna and the Infant Saviour surrounded by St. Barbara, St. Catharine, St. Veronica, and St. Margaret, bearing the date 1418. But the genuineness of this date has been seriously challenged, and from the evidence of the treatment of the drapery the execution has been assigned to 1460.

The next date is 1423, which is found on a print of St. Christopher (plate 3) of which the only known copy is preserved in the Rylands Library. It is regarded as the earliest surviving dated print executed in the Western world. The date is considered indisputable by the principal authorities, although there are those who doubt whether 1423 is the date of execution. The print owes its preservation to the fact that it has been pasted on the inner side of the right-hand board of the original binding of a Latin manuscript entitled: "Laus Virginis," written in 1417 at Buxheim.

The two lines at the foot of the print read:

Cristofori faciem die quacumq; tueris ✠ millesimo cccc^o

Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris ✠ xx^o tercio

which may be interpreted:

Each day that thou the likeness of St. Christopher shalt see
That day no frightful form of death shall make an end of thee,

an allusion to the popular superstition common at that period.

On the left hand or upper board of the same manuscript which holds St. Christopher, is another block-print representing the Annunciation (plate 4), undated but of the same period as the St. Christopher.

There is no reason for supposing that the dated examples

are the oldest of the several hundred that have come down to us, but there is a weight of evidence to favour the later decades of the fourteenth century as the period when the making of such prints really began.

The purpose of these prints is indicated by the words of invocation found on the St. Bridget and the St. Christopher prints. Therefore, apart from any artistic merit, they are important as evidence of the moral and religious ideas of the age in which they were produced.

The block-prints were the forerunners of the block-books, and this transition from single pictures to collections of pictures made up into books was a natural one. BLOCK-BOOKS.

The books were at first produced in the same way as the single leaf prints by being printed only on one side of the paper. They were then pasted back to back and made up into books. Others were printed in pairs, still on one side of the paper ; and later still they were printed on both sides of the paper and gathered into quires.

Manuscripts illustrated for the use of poor preachers had been made as early as the twelfth century, in accordance with the famous saying of St. Gregory, that " the illiterate read by means of pictures, and therefore for the people in a marked degree painting takes the place of reading in which the story is realistically unfolded by means of the pictures."

That these manuscripts served as models for the block-cutters is not mere conjecture, since many examples survive which enable us to mark the transition from the painted to the printed pictures, and in several instances by placing the two side by side we seem to have surprised the cutter, with the aid of a plank of wood and a sharp knife, in the act of copying the painted books of a century earlier. Two or three most striking examples of this transition are preserved in the Rylands Library, one of which is an " Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis " of the middle fourteenth century, and another is the " Speculum humane salvationis " of the same period, both of which have been closely copied by the block-cutters (plates 5 and 6).

It may be said, therefore, that the block-books were mechan-



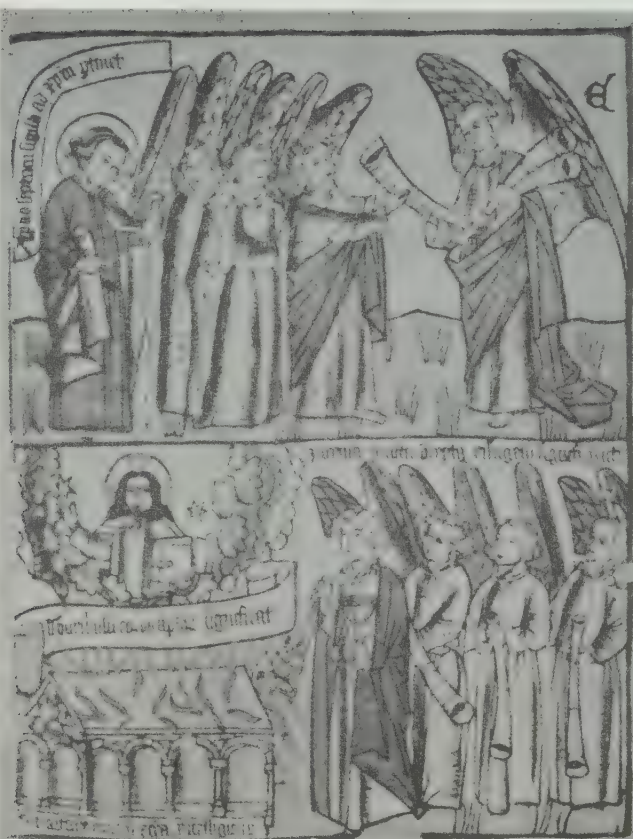
Aristofon facit die quatuordecimas :- Multimo fecit
 sua nimir die morte mala non moriens :- xx anno :-



4—THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "THE ANNUNCIATION." IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.



5. A PAGE FROM THE MS. "APOCALYPSIS SANCTI JOHANNIS" CIRCA 1450.
IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.



6. "A PAGE OF THE BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE OF SAINT JOHN."
FROM ONE OF THE COPIES IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

ical reproductions of these manuscripts, which consisted of scriptural and moral illustrations with an explanatory text. They were books to look at rather than to read. The text was subordinate to the pictures, and may have been intended as a prompter to the priests, who, in the latter part of the fifteenth century were not as familiar with their Bibles as their office demanded.

To modern eyes the illustrations appear strange if not irreverent, but the designers had no thought of irreverence. They took the Bible stories and clothed them in a mediæval setting, so that they might the better be understood by the illiterate.

For example, we find Gideon arrayed in plate armour, with mediæval helmet and visor, and a Turkish scimitar in his hand. Or, we have David and Solomon represented in rakish wide-brimmed hats with high conical crowns. The translation of Elijah takes place in a four-wheeled vehicle resembling a farmer's waggon, or an early type of motor-car. The Israelites are represented in slouched hats, puffed doublets, tight-legged breeches, and pointed shoes.

The manner of printing was practically the same as that employed in the East, since the earliest examples were printed before the printing press had been devised, or adapted from the domestic press. The block was inked over with a thin watery ink by means of an improvised inking cushion. It was then covered with a sheet of dampened paper and carefully rubbed or dabbed with a frotton, which is a small cushion composed of cloth stuffed with wool. As long as this method of printing continued it was impossible to print on both sides of the paper, for the friction necessary to obtain the second print would inevitably smear the first.

It was customary at one time to date block-books between 1420 and 1440, but it is now generally contended that few if any of them can be dated before 1450.

Schreiber, in his "*Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur métal au 15me siècle*" (1891-1911), gives a table of thirty-three different block-books, but the number of editions of these amounted to 101, in other words we have evidence of 101 different sets of blocks. In Schreiber's view there is no evidence, ex-

ternal or internal, for dating any of the existing examples much before 1460. These hitherto more or less accepted views may have to be modified again if we accept the views put forward by a recent investigator, Dr. Th. Musper (in the "Gutenberg Jahrbuch," 1938, pp. 53-58), who claims to have discovered the original editions of the "Apocalypse" and the "Biblia pauperum," which he would date about 1420 and 1430-40 respectively.

This number and variety of the editions are proofs that there must have been a very large demand for them, and a widespread desire for simple instruction as to the incidents of the life of Christ, and the events of Old Testament history which were regarded as prefigurements of them; as to the dignity of the Blessed Virgin, the end of the world and the coming of the Antichrist, and the spiritual dangers and temptations of the dying and the means by which they might be resisted.

As early specimens of book-illustration the value of the block-books varies greatly. The majority are more curious than beautiful, but some of them have very great merit and are full of vigour, charm and dignity.

It has been asserted that no block-book with legible xylographic text was produced until after the invention of typography. Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that many block-prints with legible xylographic text were produced long before the introduction of movable type, which cannot be placed much earlier than 1440. The block-book was a natural outgrowth of the block-print, and developed quite independently from the type-printed book. The one was not superseded by the other but continued to be produced side by side until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and were in common use long after the so-called invention of typography.

Of these interesting objects the Rylands Library is in possession of fifteen examples. The library also possesses what is probably the only surviving fifteenth-century block, from which one page of one of the early editions of the "Apocalypse" was printed.

The most popular of these block-books is known as the "Biblia pauperum," of which ten distinct issues and editions

have been distinguished, the earliest of which was probably printed in the Netherlands (plate 7). The aim of the book was the teaching of parallel lessons of truth to be found in the Old and the New Testaments, and is said to have been designed by a monk named Werner who was living in 1180, and was famous as a painter and poet.

Another very popular block-book of the same origin was the "*Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis*," of which at least six distinct editions are known (plates 5 and 6). It is a book of pictures unfolding the Revelation in a realistic manner.

The most beautiful of the whole series is the "*Historia seu providentia Virginis Mariae ex Cantico Canticorum*," which is a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary from the "*Song of Songs*" (plate 8). In one of the designs agriculturalists are represented in monastic habits, cutting and threshing grain, while others are pounding grain in a mortar or grinding it in a hand-mill. In the background is seen a little oratory with two books open upon a desk. In this combination of agricultural work with the emblems of study may be seen an illustration of the daily work of the Brethren of Common Life, to whom have been attributed the engraving and printing of the book. The brethren of this order were eminent as students and copyists of books, and had some distinction in the last quarter of the fifteenth century as printers, but their connection with this book cannot be definitely established.

The "*Speculum humanae salvationis*" has been more frequently the subject of discussion than any other of the block-books (plate 9). One authority has ascribed its execution to Laurens Jansoon Coster, of Haarlem, who, in the act of engraving the blocks, discovered the art of printing with movable letters, and that the later edition, printed partly from wood-blocks and partly from movable metal types, was printed by Coster's heirs, the movable types having been stolen by Johann Gutenberg before the whole of the text was set up. The plan of the book, of which four editions are known, is almost the same as the "*Biblia pauperum*."

Other block-books are the "*Ars memorandi*," or the art of remembering the gospels by means of symbols, probably one of

the first of the block-books (plate 10) ; and the "Ars moriendi," literally the art of dying becomingly, also known as the "Temptation of Demons," of which at least ten editions are known.

The transition from the block-book to the type-printed book with illustrations is shown in an interesting form in the "Biblia pauperum," printed by Albrecht Pfister, at Bamberg in or about 1461, which may be described as a typographical reproduction of the xylographic copy, printed in one of the earliest of the types attributed to Gutenberg, which is technically known as the 36-line Bible type because it was employed in a great Bible which has 36 lines to the column to distinguish it from another Bible having 40 to 42 lines to the column. Of these we shall have more to say below.

And so we come to that remarkable development in the methods of recording and transmitting knowledge TYPO-
GRAPHY. which is represented by what is termed "typography," in which movable metal types, of separate letters capable of being used again and again in different combinations, were employed for the first time in Europe.

In the second quarter of the fifteenth century Europe was plainly getting ready for this new art. On the one hand, schools and libraries, on the other hand, paper mills were rapidly increasing, and it was apparent that the needs of the schoolboy and his masters had called this art or craft into existence. Amongst the earliest books so printed were "Donatuses," copies of the crabbed little book by Aelius Donatus on the Eight Parts of Speech with which hapless schoolboys were tormented for a thousand years. There are extant fragments of at least twenty editions printed in Germany, all of which were printed in one of the earliest of the types attributed to Gutenberg in which also the famous 36-line Bible was printed and completed before 1461. On the other hand, there are similar fragments of a number of editions in Dutch types, but whether they should be identified with Ulrich Zel's prefiguration in the "Cologne Chronicle," to which we shall have occasion to refer, cannot now be determined.

Of the predominant part played by Germany and Mainz in the invention of typography there is abundant fifteenth-



8. A PAGE OF THE BLACK-BOOK. "HISTORIA SEU PROVIDENTIA VIRGINIS MARIAE EX CANTICO CANTICORUM." FROM THE COPY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

[illegible][illegible]

[The page contains several columns of handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a 17th-century manuscript. The ink is dark brown or black, and the paper shows signs of age and wear. The handwriting is dense and fills most of the page area.]

century evidence in chronicles and other books. In one instance the testimony is curiously qualified, and this account is of the more importance as being given on the authority of Ulrich Zel, the earliest printer at Cologne, who began work there before 1466 and who probably owed his training to Fust and Schoeffer, the partners and successors of Gutenberg.

It was not until 1499 that any definite statement upon the subject appeared in print. In that year a printer at Cologne named Johann Koelhoff published "*Die Cronica van hilliger Stat Coellen*," in which occurs an important passage where it is categorically asserted that "this right worthy art was invented first of all in Germany at Mainz on the Rhine."

The passage is of so much interest and importance that we print it in full (in translation) :

This right worthy art was invented first of all in Germany, at Mainz, on the Rhine. And this is a great honour to the German nation that such ingenious men are found there. This happened in the year of our Lord 1440, and from that time on until 1450 the art and all that pertains to it was being investigated, and in the year of our Lord 1450, which was a Golden Year, men began to print, and the first book that was printed was the Bible in Latin, and this was printed in a large letter like the letter now used in Missals.

Although this art was invented at Mainz, as regards the manner in which it is now commonly used, yet the first prefiguration (*Vurbyldung*) was invented in Holland from the Donatuses which were printed there before that time. And from and out of these the aforesaid art took its beginning, and was invented in a manner much more masterly and subtle than this, and the longer it lasted the more full of art it became.

A certain Omnibonus wrote in the preface to a Quintillian, and also in other books, that a Walloon from France called Nicolaus Jenson was the first inventor of this masterly art, a notorious lie, for there are men still alive who bear witness that books were printed at Venice before the aforesaid Nicolaus Jenson came there, and began to cut and make ready his letter. But the first inventor of printing was a Burgher at Mainz, and was born at Strassburg, and called Yunker Johann Gutenberg.

From Mainz the art came first of all to Cologne, after that to Strassburg, and after that to Venice. The beginning and progress of the art were told me by word of mouth by the Worshipful Master Ulrich Zell of Hanau, printer at Cologne in this present year 1499, through whom the art came to Cologne.

Ulrich Zel had been a clerk of the diocese of Mainz, and owed his training to Fust and Schoeffer, the partners of Gutenberg, but he is to be excused if he has failed in the accuracy of one or two details of this narrative. He is as accurate as could be expected from an old man retailing what he had learnt forty years earlier, in one or two rival workshops at Mainz, about the events of the previous two decades, but it is unfortunate that he makes two mistakes about Strassburg: Gutenberg was not born there but at Mainz; printing was not born at Mainz but at Strassburg, and what happened there in 1440 is what we want to know. Furthermore, the first book printed was not a Bible, but one or other of the Donatuses, or the "Sibyllenbuch" of which fragments have survived. Had he said the first "noteworthy" book was the Bible in Latin he would have been nearer to the truth.

The statement that certain Donatuses printed in Holland were a "prefiguration" of the art as perfected in Mainz, from the mouth of a German witness, cannot be allowed to pass without investigation. Does Zel allude to some cruder Dutch experiments now lost, and, if so, are these Dutch experiments really earlier than those of Gutenberg?

According to the "Batavia" of Hadrianus Junius, a chronicle written in 1568, but not printed until twenty years later, printing was indeed invented in Holland and feloniously transported thence by a workman named John, of whom some say this was John Fust, afterwards a partner with Gutenberg, and others say he was Gutenberg's brother, which is incredible since Gutenberg's own name was John. The employer of this John was Laurens Coster, of whom the story is told that having walked in a wood and there cut letters out of some beech bark to amuse himself, he subsequently inked and used them as stamps to amuse his grandchildren. Junius begins his story by saying that Coster lived about 1440, at Haarlem. The town archives at Haarlem show that there really was in residence there from 1436 to 1483 a Laurens Coster, who earned his living as a chandler and innkeeper. The mention of 1440 by Junius is easily explained by the fact that this is the year assigned by the Cologne chronicler to the invention of printing. If any credence is to be given

to his story, written some hundred and twenty years after the events, it is clear that his facts must be assigned to a much later date; for in the case of a man first heard of in 1436 and who lived till 1483 any efforts he may have made to amuse grandchildren old enough to be interested in seeing letters printed from an inked stamp must surely be placed nearer to 1480 than to 1440. The plain truth, as one writer has pointed out, is that the whole story as Junius tells it is, on the face of it, the work of a reckless patriotic antiquary, and the claims of Holland as based on the statement taken down from the mouth of Ulrich Zel, are only damaged by it.

Of some of the technical arts which have lessened the labours and sweetened the life of man we are fortunately able to trace, with reasonable certainty, the beginnings, and honour the progenitor, yet, with the beginnings of this art, which has conferred such inestimable benefits upon humanity, such is not the case. The very birthplace in Europe is involved in a cloud of uncertainty, a cloud which also hides the personality of the first typographer. After ages of investigation the crucial question when, where and by whom was typography first practised in Europe remains still to be answered, although few doubt that he was Johann Gutenberg. His career is tantalizingly obscure, and he himself never attached his name to a single piece of printing.

In constructing the history of Gutenberg we have to build upon a foundation of circumstantial evidence. It is ^{GUTEN-}
a fact that we cannot point to a single piece of ^{BERG.}
printing and assert that it was printed by Gutenberg, although we may safely say that there are several productions which in all probability were his workmanship.

Gutenberg's real name was Gänssfleisch. He was the son of the patrician Fielo Gänssfleisch and Elsa Gutenberg, whose maiden name was Wyrich, who lived at the Hof zum Gutenberg, and it was in that way that the name of Gutenberg came to the family. Johann was born about 1400, and took his mother's name, as was the custom, when it was feared that her family might become extinct.

Just when Johann had attained manhood, his family, which

belonged to the patrician party, was driven into temporary exile, in consequence of the civil quarrels which continually agitated Mainz when the guilds succeeded in ousting the patricians from their privileges. Johann quitted the city in 1428 and preferred to remain at Strassburg, further up the Rhine, even when an amnesty gave him a chance of returning home in 1430.

One contributory factor which must not be overlooked is that the city of Mainz was famed for the number and skill of its workers in fine metals, and many members of the craft, including Johann's father, were associated with the Archiepiscopal mint, then one of the most considerable in Germany, and it is not unreasonable to assume that Gutenberg was familiar with the goldsmith's craft, a fact which has an important bearing on history. As in the case of Nicolas Jenson, the famous printer of Venice of two decades later, it was no doubt his skill in die cutting that led him to the application of the principle of the cutting of dies to the cutting of punches, which were the basis of the type mould and the type-casting instrument, by means of which the metal type could be rapidly produced.

Gutenberg was evidently a man of great natural sagacity, gifted with an inventive genius accompanied by indomitable perseverance. The increasing thirst for knowledge, which was everywhere making itself manifest at this period, arrested his attention, and convinced him not only of the desirability but of the profitableness of devising some method for its more ready and abundant supply.

The block-books no doubt suggested to his mind the idea of printing as at present practised. His training as a metal worker must have brought to him the conviction that only the use of metal could resolve the problem of typography, and it was not easy at first to secure that the single letter, not the line, or the word, should be the basis of the new process, and that these tiny elements should be exactly rectangular and of the same dimensions were indispensable conditions for taking an even and regular impression from a pageful of them set side by side. To seize upon some idea of composing the text or legend of separate letters capable of being reset and rearranged after the impression had been taken off, so as to be applied without

new cutting to other texts was to secure the principle upon which the typographical art depended.

As we have already pointed out the discovery had been made in China four centuries earlier by Pi Shêng, but we have no evidence that Gutenberg was aware of the Chinese invention. The two discoveries must have been made independently.

As we look back from our twentieth-century point of view it may appear to be an easy matter to extend the principle upon which the art depended, but we must not forget that the foundation for all these centuries of improvement was laid by Gutenberg. It is upon the foundation laid by him during his years of patient labour and self-sacrificing experiments that later workers in the same field have built.

Gutenberg encountered many difficulties, financial and otherwise, in the prosecution of his labours which completely impoverished him, and at times tempted him to despair and throw up the whole design. Nearly all the recorded information about him has reference either to law-suits or to loans of money, from which we may conclude that his experiments ran away with a good deal of capital.

In 1435 Gutenberg entered into partnership with two citizens of Strassburg, Andres Dritzehen and his brother, to work some secret process, which he bound himself to disclose to his partners. Something seems to have gone wrong in 1439, for he appears as defendant in a law-suit, during which it transpired, to judge from the terms employed, that the project had reference to some form of printing, and a carpenter deposed that as early as 1436 he had been paid a large sum by Gutenberg for work pertaining to printing.

It may safely be said that before 1440 Gutenberg was at work at Strassburg experimenting in and perfecting the art of typography, and that loans negotiated in 1441 and 1442 were raised presumably for the further development of his invention.

Within recent years a number of fragments of printing have been discovered, which may have belonged to this experimental period at Strassburg. The earliest is part of a "Sibyllenbuch," originally known as "Das Weltgericht," because the text of the fragment deals with the

FRAGMENTS
OF THE
EARLIEST
EXAMPLES.

Last Judgment, which may have been printed about 1445, just before Gutenberg returned to Mainz. Another fragment is of an "Astronomical Calendar," in German verse, possibly calculated for the year 1448 (plate 12), in which case it would have been printed in 1447 or earlier. This fragment was recovered by Dr. Zedler, from a binding in the University Library at Wiesbaden. There are also a considerable number of fragments of several editions of the standard text-book of the time, an elementary Latin grammar: "De octo partibus orationis" of Donatus (plate 11), which was often among the first books printed by any new press that was set up.

These fragments have been subjected to very minute examination by a number of experts who have decided that they were all printed with various founts of type which show such close resemblance as to indicate that they were developed from a common design which ends in what is known as the 36-line Bible type, having passed through successive stages of development.

There are, therefore, typographical reasons for regarding these fragments as representing Gutenberg's earliest extant pieces of printing, which may have served as proof of what he was able to accomplish with his new invention, and by means of which he was enabled to secure from one of his relatives a loan of 150 guilders. With these exceptions we have little information as to his doings between 1439 and 1445, but he worked on oppressed by want of money, always perfecting his art.

We do not know how Gutenberg set to work for we have not been able to surprise him in any of his experiments, which must have at times presented difficulties wellnigh insurmountable. Nothing daunted he persevered until he had perfected in turn: the punch, the matrix and the mould, and although many improvements have been made in type-founding since his day the basic principles are essentially the same as he invented them.

The next requirement was a press, for it was plainly seen that with movable type impressions could only be multiplied by the application of pressure to their surface, and there is little doubt that the domestic press which had been in use for ages

cū doctem doctū doctē q̄ tūo p̄co cū doct? sum? l' fueri
 tis? l' fuis? sit? l' fuit? xplē cū doct? sum? l' fuerim? sitis? l' fueri-
 tis? sit? l' fuerit? P̄rito p̄lq̄ p̄co cū doct? esse? l' fuisse? eēs? ul'
 fuisse? cēt? l' fuisse? xplē cū doct? eēm? l' fuissim? eēs? l' fuis-
 sem? eēt? l' fuisset? fūto cū doct? eo? l' fūto eis? l' fuis? eit? l' fu-
 it? xplē cū doct? eim? l' fuissim? eīs? l' fuistis? erit? ul' fuerit
 Infinitō mō sū nūis? p̄cois? tpe p̄ti? i p̄ito ip̄co docti
 p̄ito p̄co? i p̄lq̄ p̄co docti ēē? l' fuisse? hūo docti in? Quo
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Ego legis legi? xplē legim? legitis legūt P̄rito iū
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 tis? legēbāt? P̄rito p̄co legi? legisti? legi? xplē legim? legi-
 tis? legēstis? ul' le gēce? P̄rito p̄lq̄ p̄co legēdā legēas? le gē-
 rat? xplē legēam? legēdām? le gērat? Futūo legam? leges? le-
 get? xplē legemus? legēis? q̄ int? p̄p̄atius? modo? tēdō
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 mus? legite? legant? Futūo legito? iū legito? ille? xplē lega-
 mus? legite? legunt? ul' le gēce? P̄ticipia? modo? rē
 gēs? p̄ti? i p̄ito ip̄co nō? l' gēce? legēs? legēce? eplē
 ul' legēmus? legēce? legēce? P̄rito p̄co? i p̄lq̄ p̄co
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 legissit? Futūo nō? legā? legas? legat? xplē ul' legāmus? le-
 gāis? legant? Xonāctūo nō? tē p̄ti? nō? legā? legā-
 gat? xplē cū legam? legāis? legant? P̄rito ip̄co cū le-
 gē? legēs? legēce? xplē cū legēmus? legēce? legēce?
 P̄rito p̄co cū legēim? legēis? legēat? xplē cū legēim?
 legēis? legēnt? P̄ticipia? p̄lq̄ p̄co? cū legissim?

for wine making and other domestic purposes, and also for the printing of designs on textiles which had been a flourishing industry long before Gutenberg's time, was adapted to his requirements.

In 1450 Gutenberg was again in need of money. This time he applied to a wealthy goldsmith and money-lender, Johann Fust, for a loan of 800 guilders, the security for which was to be his plant and apparatus. In 1452 a fresh advance of 800 guilders was made, apparently on a five-years' partnership with half profits.

In August, 1451, the King of Cyprus obtained from Pope Nicholas V a grant of Indulgence to any one who before 1st May, 1455, should contribute towards the expenses of the war against the Turks. In order to assure these privileges contributors were given a document in which these were recited, and the proper form of absolution set forth, spaces being left blank for the name of the recipient and the date of their contribution, the respective years : "MCCCCLIII" and "MCCCCLV" in the various issues being printed, thus giving us the earliest piece of printing with movable type having an unchallenged printed date (plate 13). On reaching Mainz in 1454, Paulinus Chappe, the Proctor-General of the King of Cyprus, found printing in progress there, and decided to apply the new art to the Indulgences which the pardoners were to take with them in travelling in the neighbouring districts. It was necessary that the printed copies should resemble as closely as possible those already issued in manuscript in a small legal hand. The existing large heavy type employed in the printing of the fragments already referred to was suitable only for the headings ; for the text a much smaller type was essential. At what must have been short notice this was provided, the text of the Indulgence being compressed into thirty-one long lines of type, and a new aspect was given to the commercial possibilities of the new art.

The Indulgence of thirty-one lines was a great triumph for the type cutter, and within a few weeks the triumph was repeated in a totally different edition with thirty lines instead of thirty-one (plate 14), and with new types both in the headings and also in the text. In the thirty line edition the large type is neater and

akin to the type of the 42-line Bible. Of the thirty-one line edition four issues have been distinguished, three of them dated 1454 and the fourth 1455. Of the other edition three issues are known, one dated 1454, the other two 1455.

Many attempts have been made to explain the double publication of the Indulgence. The most plausible theory is that the new types in both editions were cut by Peter Schoeffer, a young clerk in minor orders, originally a copyist, who developed an aptitude for type cutting, and was employed by Gutenberg. The small type for the first Indulgence was cut for Gutenberg, and when more copies of the Indulgence were called for, Fust, who had come to realise the possibilities of the new art, enlisted the services of Schoeffer to cut for him a new fount of type, differing only in slight details, with which the 30-line Indulgence was printed. It is impossible to say whether Schoeffer was already associated with Fust, but the employment for the display lines or headings of a type which is so closely akin to that of the 42-line Bible would appear to suggest that in some way Fust and Schoeffer were already in collaboration.

In November, 1455, Fust secured judgment in an action he had brought against Gutenberg for the recovery of 2020 guilders, representing the principal and accumulated interest on loans advanced to him, on the plea that the agreement had not been kept. Peter Schoeffer was a witness on the side of Fust in this case, and it is not without interest to learn from the colophon to Tritheim's "Chronicle" issued in 1515, that Peter Schoeffer's son John asserts that his father received his wife, Christina Fust, in marriage, as a reward for his "adinventiones," which we may interpret as services to Johann Fust.

Gutenberg, hopelessly insolvent, was compelled to hand over to Fust the tools and equipment of his printing office as the result of this action.

There are those who have branded Fust as an unscrupulous usurer for pouncing on Gutenberg at the very moment when that unworldly genius had consummated his great achievement, and was about to gather the fruits of his toil. The truth may be, as Dr. Pollard has suggested, that Gutenberg, like so many

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ERIC IN SEARCH OF THE LOST VOICES OF THE AMERICAN WEST

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Forma planizacji remissji w morsz aninilo

Omnia nobis tu supra ego te absoluo ab omni peccatis tuis rectis. *Officia* et obsequia referuimus te. *Officia*
 in facili a sacramentis ecclesie. Remittendo tibi peccata purgationi quas purget culpas et offensa iustitiae dantes tibi plenam
 omnem peccata tuorum remissionem. In quaui clauis sit maior ecclesie in hac parte se extendit. In hac parte et ipse tu facies. Amen.

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[illegible]

form a plenissime absolutionis et remissionis in vita

[illegible]

Forma planare ramiſſionis in ramo articulo

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inventors, was an unbusinesslike person, and was sold up by Fust because the latter began to be seriously concerned about his money and despaired of ever getting his partner to finish the task in hand. Gutenberg had now been occupying himself with typographical problems for quite twenty years, and making all allowances for the difficulties of a pioneer, the fact that two decades of effort had produced nothing more impressive than a few school books, calendars, and pamphlets, would appear to suggest dilatory ways.

That the money had been spent in printing is clear from references to "the work of the books," to vellum, paper and other materials, but what was the great undertaking upon which he had expended so much capital?

The inner history of these years is hidden from us, but there are two great Bibles without any indication of date, THE TWO BIBLES. place of printing or printer beyond what circumstantial evidence can supply. The one in the early type of the Donatuses and the "Calendar" has 36 lines to each column. This type or a later casting of it is found in the possession of Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg, who printed with it a number of popular German illustrated books between 1461 and 1462, and it is of some significance to note that a copy of this particular Bible, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has the date "1461" written on the last leaf by the rubricator.

There has been much controversy over the relationship of these two Bibles, the 36-line and the 42-line, so described by reason of the number of lines to their respective columns. It has been suggested, and not without reason, that the 36-line Bible was commenced by Gutenberg between the years 1448 and 1450, in the type with which he had been experimenting for some years. In 1452, being in need of additional capital, he negotiated with Johann Fust for a further loan of 800 guilders on the basis of a five-years' partnership with half profits, with which he may have had a new and smaller face of type designed for use in the printing of the 42-line Bible.

It would appear that the type with which he had printed the first gathers of the 36-line Bible and any sheets that had been printed off, passed into the possession of Albrecht Pfister, the

printer of Bamberg, referred to above, who may have been one of Gutenberg's associates or workmen (plate 15).

There is evidence that a large number of copies of this Bible were sold at Bamberg about 1460, but the questions when, where, and by whom it was printed has never yet been determined, although Gutenberg has a better claim than any one else, for it is evident that when Pfister began to print the popular illustrated books already referred to, he was an inexperienced printer, and it is thought possible that when Gutenberg's association with the 42-line Bible had come to an end, as a result of the law-suit in 1455, he joined forces with Pfister and completed the printing of the Bible he had commenced some years earlier.

This would seem to be borne out by a very careful and painstaking study of the two Bibles carried out by M. Dziatzko, who proves that the text of the 36-line Bible was actually set up, at any rate in part, from the 42-line Bible. An indication that while the 42-line Bible was produced under the Schoeffer-Fust partnership, the 36-line Bible may have been printed more or less *pari passu* either by Gutenberg alone or in partnership with Pfister.

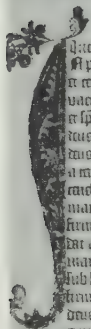
The 42-line Bible has yielded up some of its secrets as a result of the minute examination to which it has been subjected by such authorities as Dziatzko, Schwenke, Zedler, and others, and we now know that it was printed simultaneously in ten sections on six presses, proving that the Mainz office was well equipped. The type with which the first few sheets of each section were printed gave forty lines to the column (plate 16) and it was decided to reduce the size of the type by filing the body so as to increase the number of lines to the column.¹ This was twice repeated with the result that forty-one lines and ultimately forty-two lines to the column was obtained. After the printing had begun it was resolved to increase the size of the edition and the early pages were reset and reprinted.

There is reason to believe that one hundred and fifty copies were printed on paper and thirty on vellum.

¹ In the Rylands copy the first ten pages have forty lines to the column followed by one page with forty-one lines, and thenceforward forty-two lines. Later sections show the same peculiarities.

Et principio creauit deus celum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et uania: et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi: et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas. Dixitque deus. Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Et uidit deus lucem quod esset bona: et diuisit lucem a tenebris. Appellauitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem. Factusque est uespere et mane dies primus. Dixit quoque deus. Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum: et diuidat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus firmamentum: diuisitque aquas que erant sub firmamento ab his que erant super firmamentum: et factum est ita. Vocauitque deus firmamentum celum: et factum est uespere et mane dies secundus. Dixit uero deus. Congregentur aque que sub celo sunt in locum unum et appareat arida. Et factum est ita. Et uocauit deus aridam terram: congrega suntque aquae appellauitque maria. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum. Et ait. Germinet terra herbam uirentem et faciant semina iuxta genus suum: cui semine in semine populus sit super terram. Et factum est ita. Et produxit terra herbam uirentem et facientes semina iuxta genus suum: lignumque faciens fructum et habens uniuersumque semine secundum speciem suam. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum: et factum est uespere et mane

dies tertius. Dixitque autem deus. Fiant luminaria in firmamento celum: et diuidant diem ac noctem: et sint in signa et tempora et dies et annos: et luceant in firmamento celum et illuminent terram. Et factum est ita. Fecitque deus duo luminaria magna: luminare maius ut pelleret diem et luminare minus ut pelleret noctem: et stellae. et posuit eas in firmamento celum ut luceant super terram: et pellerent diem ac noctem: et diuiderent lucem ac tenebras. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum: et factum est uespere et mane dies quartus. Dixit etiam deus. Producantur aque reptiles a se uirgines et uolantes super terram: sub firmamento celum. Et aitque deus. Creentur et omnes animae uiuentes atque mortales quae producantur a se uirgines suas: et omnes uolantes secundum genus suum. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum: benedixitque ei dictis. Et creauit et multiplicauit et replete aquas maius: auisemque multiplicauit super terram. Et factum est uespere et mane dies quintus. Dixit quoque deus. Producantur cetera animae uiuentes in genere suo: iumenta et reptilia: et bestias terre secundum species suas. Factum est ita. Et fecit deus bestias secundum speciem suam: iumentis et omni reptili terre in genere suo. Et uidit deus quod esset bo



Quod per littera brachii qui uos gressum
 A principio creauit deus etiam
 et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et
 uacua: et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi:
 et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas. Dixit
 quoque deus: fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Et uidit
 deus lucem quod esset bona: et diuisit lucem
 a tenebris: appellauitque lucem diem et
 tenebras noctem. Factumque est uespere et
 mane dies unus. Dixit quoque deus: fiat
 firmamentum in medio aquarum: et diui
 dat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus firmamentum
 in medio: diuisitque aquas que erant
 sub firmamento ab his que erant super
 firmamentum: et factum est ita. Vocauitque
 deus firmamentum celum: et factum est uespere
 et mane dies secundus. Dixit uero deus:
 congregantur aquae quae sub celo sunt in
 locum unum et appareat arida. Et factum est
 ita. Et uocauit deus aridam terram:
 congregantur ueroque aquae: et appellauit
 maria. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum: et
 ait. Creauit uero herba uitam et
 faceret seminem: et lignum portans fructus
 boni iuxta genus suum: et semini in
 semine suo sit super terram. Et factum est ita. Et
 protulit terra herba uitam et faceret
 seminem iuxta genus suum: lignumque faciens
 bonum et herba uinumque: seminem solum
 specie sua. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum:
 et factum est uespere et mane dies tertius.
 Dixitque autem deus: fiat lux in aqua
 in firmamento celum: et diuidat diem ac
 noctem: et lux in signa et tempora et dies et
 annos: et lux in luminem in firmamento celum
 et illuminet terram. Et factum est ita. Et creauit
 deus duo luminaria magna: luminare
 maius ut pelleret diem et luminare minus
 ut pelleret noctem et stellae: et posuit eas in
 firmamento celum ut lucerent super terram: et

pellerent diem ac noctem: et diuiserent lucem
 ac tenebras. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum:
 et factum est uespere et mane dies quartus.
 Dixit quoque deus: Producat aquae reptile
 animae uiuinae et uolantia super terram
 sub firmamento celum. Creauitque deus
 reptilia et omnes animas uiuentes aquae:
 motuibile quod potest esse aquae et spiritus
 suae: et omnes uolantes secundum genus suum.
 Et uidit deus quod esset bonum: et creauit
 quoque deus: et creauit et insynphramini: et
 repleret aquas maris: et uespere et mane
 factum est ita. Et factum est uespere et mane
 dies quintus. Dixit quoque deus: Pro
 ducat terra animas uiuentes in genere suo:
 uiuina et reptilia: et bestias rectae secundum
 speciem suam. Factumque est ita. Et fecit deus
 bestias rectae iuxta speciem suam: iumenta
 et omnes reptiles rectae et genus suum. Et
 uidit deus quod esset bonum: et ait. Faciamus
 hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem
 nostram: et prelosetur piscibus maris: et uola
 ntibus celum: et bestijs uinisque: et omni
 reptili quod mouetur in terra. Et creauit
 deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem
 suam: ad imaginem dei creauit illum: ma
 sculum et feminam creauit eos. Benedixit
 quoque illis deus: et ait. Esedite et multiplicati
 uini: et replere terram et habite eam: et domina
 mini piscibus maris: et uolantibus celum
 et uiuentibus animantibus quae mouentur
 super terram. Dixitque deus: Ecce dedi uobis
 omnia herba afferentem fructum super terram:
 et uinumque lignum quae hunc in se continent
 fructum: genus suum sit uos uobis et escam
 et carnis animalibus rectis: et uinumque
 celum et uiuentibus quae mouentur in terra: et
 quibus est anima uiuentis ut habeat ab
 uolentibus. Et factum est ita. Viditque deus
 cuncta quae fecerat: et recte valde bona.

With its 643 leaves or 1286 pages in double columns the two volumes of this Bible makes a noble book. Its design may have been Gutenberg's, and it is not unlikely that he had some hand in the early stages of its printing, but that it was carried to completion by Fust and Schoeffer leaves little room for doubt.

The first copy of this Bible to attract attention was one in the library of Cardinal Mazarin, to which fact it owes its popular name of the "Mazarin Bible." To bibliographers it is known as the 42-line Bible.

A very important date in its chronology is furnished by the paper copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In each of the volumes there is a note to the effect that the rubrication, illumination and binding of the Bible was completed—the first volume on the 15th of August, 1456, and the second on the 24th day of the same month and year, by Heinrich Cremer, Vicar of the Church of St. Stephen at Mainz. The printing was therefore completed not later than 1456, but how much earlier it is not now possible to say.

The subsequent career of Fust and Schoeffer in partnership, and afterwards of Schoeffer alone is free from all dispute.

Their triumphant progress was checked for a year or two by the sack of Mainz in 1462, but before that took place they had obtained a complete mastery over the new art.

In 1457 they produced a Latin Psalter for use in choir by the Benedictine Abbey in Mainz, printed in very large type, as was necessary at a time when half a dozen THE TWO PSALTERS. singers shared the same book (plate 17).

In the Psalter not only were the rubrics and smaller capitals printed in red, but decorative large capitals were added in red, filled in and surrounded by tracery in blue, or in blue with tracery in red, the ornament being very delicate and the registration or fitting together of the keyed blocks invariably perfect.

The Psalter is famous as the first printed book with a date, the first example of printing in colours, the first book containing musical notes (although these were inserted by hand), the first book with a printed colophon, the end of which is worth quoting because it gives an interesting description of

the book, as well as providing an important footnote to the history of printing :

The present Book of Psalms adorned with beauty of capitals and sufficiently marked out with rubrics, has been thus fashioned by an ingenious invention of printing and stamping, without any ploughing of the pen, and to the worship of God diligently brought to completion by Johann Fust, a citizen of Mainz, and Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, in the year of our Lord 1457, on the Vigil of the Feast of the Assumption.

Of this book ten copies are known, all printed on vellum, all varying slightly from each other. One copy with 143 leaves is in the Rylands Library.

There are two editions easily distinguishable from each other, one has 143 leaves, the second contains some additional rituals and comprises 175 leaves.

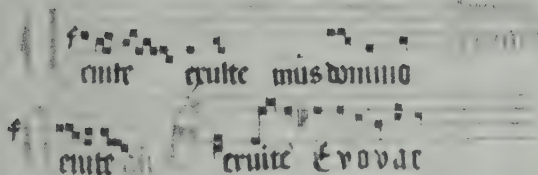
Two years later (August, 1459) Fust and Schoeffer produced another Psalter in the same type with the same capitals but with twenty-three instead of twenty lines to the page. This was stated in the colophon to have been printed for the Benedictine monastery of St. James at Mainz.

Thirteen copies of this Psalter are known, all printed on vellum, one of which is in the Rylands Library.

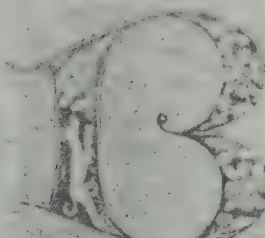
Between the production of the two Psalters Fust and Schoeffer printed in the same types, on twelve leaves of vellum, the Canon of the Mass alone, obviously that it might be bought by churches which owned Missals otherwise in good condition, but with these much-fingered leaves badly worn. Only one copy of this Canon has survived, and is now in the Bodleian Library, where it was discovered in a Mainz Missal of 1493.

Another feat which the partners performed was the printing of a splendid series of great annotated editions of canon and civil law with the text in two narrow columns of large type in the middle of the page surrounded by the commentary in a smaller type. The larger type was employed also in the printing of the Bible of 1462.

In 1461 printing was put to a new use by the publication of a series of eight placards relative to the struggle between the rival archbishops of Mainz, and a bull relating to a crusade against the Turks. These were all printed in a small neat type



 eruit eruit mus dominus
 eruit eruit Erubat


 Batus vir qui non
 abiit in consilio impiorum
 et in via peccatorum non
 stetit: et in cathedra peni-
 tentie non sedit. Sed
 in lege domini voluntas
 eius: et in lege eius meditabitur die ac no-
 de. Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est
 feceris deorsum agere: quod fructum suum dabit in
 tempore suo. Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia quaeque
 faciet prosperabuntur. Non sic impii non sic: sed
 tanquam pulvis quem proiciat ventus a facie terre.
 Deo non resurgunt impii in iudicio: neque
 peccatores in consilio iustorum. Qui novit dominus
 viam iustorum: et iter impiorum peribit. Amen

in which also a splendid edition of the " *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* " of Durandus was printed.

In 1462 the archiepiscopal struggle led to the sacking of Mainz, but on the 14th August there was completed what is regarded as the finest of the early Bibles. This Bible marks the close of the great period of printing at Mainz. The capacity of the new art had been fully demonstrated, and as a group these early productions of the Fust and Schoeffer press have seldom if ever been surpassed.

The disaster of the Sack of Mainz, and perhaps the financial strain involved in the production of the 1462 Bible, almost reduced their press to silence until 1465, and it was during those years that their workmen are said to have left them and begun carrying the art into other towns and countries, so that Mainz's loss was Europe's gain, for the printers were dispersed over the Continent by this shock, taking with them their experience and their skill. Of these, there is little doubt, Ulrich Zel, who established a press in Cologne in 1466, and Sweynheym and Pannartz, who introduced printing into Italy at Subiaco in 1465, owed their training to Fust and Schoeffer.

On Gutenberg obscurity now descended once more. His sole remaining asset appears to have been his original large type, with which it is conjectured he printed the 36-line Bible, possibly at Bamberg in collaboration with Albrecht Pfister, but certainly not at Mainz, where competition with Fust and Schoeffer was out of the question. He must have returned to Mainz, however, a few years later, if he is correctly credited with one further book, an edition of a great Latin dictionary known by the name " *Catholicon*," the work of a thirteenth-century writer, Joannes Balbus, of Genoa, which bears the date 1460 (plate 18). In the same type as the " *Catholicon* " are two small tracts, the " *Summa de articulis fidei* " of Thomas Aquinas, and the " *Tractatus rationis et conscientiae* " of Matthaeus de Cracovia, both without date, to which may be added a broadside indulgence printed in 1461.

In 1465, on the 17th of January, the Archbishop of Mainz granted Gutenberg the mediæval equivalent of a civil list pension, by enrolling him among his courtiers, with enjoyment of various grants in kind and relief from dues and taxes. In this honour-

able position Gutenberg continued until his death, which appears to have taken place on 3rd February, 1468.

A few weeks later, Dr. Konrad Homery acknowledged the receipt of certain printing gear, his own property, from Gutenberg's effects. It would almost appear that this was the material used in the printing of the "Catholicon" and laid aside. If such was the case Dr. Homery was probably Gutenberg's financial supporter in that venture, which must have required a good deal of capital.

Gutenberg was about seventy years of age when he died. Tradition says that he was buried in the Franciscan Church of his native city. He does not speak of himself or for himself. We have no reason to believe that in his lifetime his work brought him any particular honour, and it certainly did not bring him wealth.

One writer, referring to his greatness, has made an illuminating comparison, when he says: "There is no other instance in modern history excepting perhaps Shakespeare of a man who did so much and said so little about it."

Such were the beginnings of the art of typography, the five hundredth anniversary of which we are commemorating this year.

So remarkable was the spread of the art during the succeeding fifty years that there is no development that history has to record in any other age which will bear comparison with it.

By the end of the fifteenth century presses had been established in thirteen European countries.

No accurate estimate can yet be formed of the number of books which can be included under the term "Incunabula," in other words, of books printed in Europe between the years 1450 and 1500, but there is sufficient evidence to enable us to say that records of upwards of thirty thousand distinct works or editions have come down to us.

This record can but suggest the urgent need in which the world stood of the means of rapidly multiplying the instruments of education and culture to meet the demands which followed in the wake of the Revival of Learning.

In those days travel by water was easiest and the great river basins were the chief highways, so by way of the Rhine and its tributaries the banished printers made their way to settle down in cities and towns that seemed to promise them peace and quiet in which to ply their trade.

It was natural that Italy, then in the full tide of the Renaissance, a country teeming with scholars and artists, and bubbling over with ideas, should head the list with seventy-three cities in which printing was carried on. Germany follows with fifty, France with thirty-six, Spain with twenty-six, Holland with fourteen, Belgium with seven, and after these England with only four presses.

RACE AND ITS MEANING IN EUROPE.¹

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THE word race has acquired notoriety in our generation largely because even responsible men have used it so loosely as to encourage demagogues to stir up evil passions by appeals to what they wish to suggest is community of descent from a distinctive ancestral unit. Within the last twenty years a thoughtful British statesman whom all respect refused to modify a word in a speech; he insisted upon speaking of a 'Swiss Race', and myriads of quotations could be given to show that language, religion, even sex have been used to define race. This loose use of a term that is incendiary is one of the reasons why we are suffering to-day, Germans, French and British alike. Dr. Morant has recently wisely drawn attention to the fact that even Hitler sometimes distinguishes between 'Rasse' and 'Volk'; and his English translator has not always respected this distinction. Even some of those who realise that race is a term carrying a physical meaning are still moved by old ideas sufficiently to lead them to average measurements of people, who may differ deeply from one another, simply because they are members of one and the same 'population'. On the one hand this unintentionally still encourages the demagogic use of the term race, on the other hand it averages things that are disparate. If Mendel had averaged the heights of his pea-plants, the thought of the world would have missed one of its most far-reaching recent advances.

If all our ancestors along every genealogical line had been separate persons, each of us would have had 32,768 ancestors living about the time of the Renaissance and over one thousand million about the time of the Norman Conquest, a figure quite

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of December, 1939.

probably greater than the total of the then population of the world! It is obvious that the genealogical lines intertwine and repeatedly bring the same physical heritage to bear upon the future. We know well how physical traits are handed on in families and should thus think of some of them as the expression of repeated doses over many centuries.

Mr. Fullard has recently been looking into details of genealogy in Lancashire and, in agreement with Dr. Redford, has found that, in a large proportion of cases, marriages have been made near home; and the great majority of people are very averse from movement over more than a small distance. This was still more the case in pre-industrial times, and many of us therefore have a great deal of our ancestry concentrated in some small area that, most likely, had a population of only a very few thousands at the Renaissance and quite possibly a few hundreds at the Norman Conquest. We may, it is true, owe our physical characters to intruders or immigrants into such a little community; and the melting of aristocratic families, almost always very mongrel, into the common people has long provided more or less external elements from time to time. The little rural community has not been a biological 'isolate' and we must not treat it as such without maintaining a certain reserve.

We have, however, the high probability that a large part of the ancestry of each one of us is in a small area and that, if we look back through the centuries, we see our genealogical lines intertwining increasingly so that the dose from some very remote forbears is likely to come down through many strains, and very probably to make itself felt through centuries and even millennia. It may be urged that these considerations give special importance to the bearing of the characteristics of our prehistoric ancestors upon our own physical features. Studies of density of population have shown that 2 persons per square mile is a very considerable number for a hunting-collecting group; that would imply a population probably well under 100,000 for the whole of England and Wales in that phase of social and economic evolution. Moreover, as the wild life to be hunted cannot have been very abundant, it is likely that the population of England and Wales was nearer ten than one hundred thousand.

Further, it is conceivable that the influence of environment may somehow affect physical characters. The colour and density of the skin varies in mankind and its chief varieties are distributed largely, though not perfectly, in accordance with great climatic regions. Most of the very darkest skins are in regions of almost rainless sunshine, the thick yellowish or yellow-brown skins are largely in a part of eastern Asia with a very bitter winter, the blue-eyed pink-and-white blonds belong to the cloudy north-west of Europe. A somewhat analogous but less close relation exists between some characters of the nose and regions of climate.

In these cases we cannot observe changes following migration ; the changes, if made under the influence of environment, must be effected in some indirect way and slowly, so slowly that descendants of immigrants of long ago may still be distinguished from their neighbours, as will be stated at greater length below.

We must, however, beware of ascribing skin colour, for example, exclusively to one factor. The brown pigment deposited in the skin is said to be a means of getting rid of harmful waste material, in a sense a supplement to the activity of the kidneys, and a supplement that is said to be more needed in warm climates than elsewhere.

Stature is more quickly adjusted, nutrition good or bad has its effect at once, but even here the result is not purely influence of environment ; there are tendencies to tallness or the reverse that make themselves felt.

Nevertheless, with the lessening of the neglect of children so characteristic of early Victorian England, there has come an increase of stature and a reduction of deformities such as bandy-legs and hump-backs.

Some features of head and face seem to have a greater degree of constancy and it is highly probable that, in the world at the present day, there live people in many lands who carry relatively little-changed characteristics that occurred fairly widely among people of the latter part of the Old Stone Age 10,000 years before Christ or even more. They do not feel separate from others, nor do others feel that these are different from them ; there has been intermarriage between them and others through hundreds of generations, but the old characteristics persist here

and there among families, chiefly in remote spots ; why, we cannot say. We can only surmise that, as these very ancient heritages must be very widespread, marriage may bring them in on both sides and lead to their overt development.

One of these characteristics common among our early forefathers was an extremely long narrow head with deep-set eyes and nose root and various other characteristics ; and we can get glimpses here and there of the spread of such people northward in Western Europe, at any rate as the Ice Sheets diminished for the last time.

Professor Dorothy Garrod's finds in Palestine have made it much more probable than it formerly seemed to be that, among the different varieties of living men, we have results of intermingling with some varieties of what may be called our precursors ; and the investigators of ancient skeletons in China support that view. The opinion is regaining ground it lost a generation ago that the large brows and deep-rooted noses of some early Europeans are derived from the Neanderthal type of precursor of mankind.

Unfortunately, the use of the name, *Cro Magnon*, for the people of the upper Palæolithic in a wide sense has become a source of confusion. There were diverse strains at that time and they were handing down diverse heritages.

As time passed, these characteristics became less general, and what may be called a more moderate type of head, still long and narrow, but not so extreme, occurred in an increased proportion of the population ; and eyes and nose-root became less deep-set. Some of us who believe that adult form depends both on heritage and on influences acting on growth think that this moderating of characteristics arose by growth-modification from the older more extreme form. However this may be, long-headed people, with a proportion of extreme cases especially in old established small inbred groups in remote areas, came to be a feature of Western Europe from Morocco to Norway and Sweden. They had been pushed out to the fringes by central European stocks to be discussed below. It thence follows that the Iberian peninsula, the British Isles and the Scandinavian peninsula acquired long-headed populations which were

darker in hair and eye in Spain than in Wales, in Wales than in Norway and Sweden. The original drifts of men have been complicated by later movements. The builders of great stone monuments in the British Isles appear to have included important numbers from the Iberian peninsula or the western Mediterranean, with the result that, even to this day, some areas near the great stone monuments in west Britain have rather darker colouring among their population than is common in other districts. Again, Vikings were probably among the latest of a long series of intruders into Britain from the north, and we still find, in areas that history tells us were specially settled by Vikings, a comparatively large proportion of tall bony blonds, for example, in the north of the Isle of Man.

The aim of this short statement so far has been to suggest that there is no fundamental distinction between Mediterranean and northern or Nordic types. All through Spain, the British Isles, Sweden and Norway, we have descendants of early long-headed populations, supplemented by immigrants and invaders it is true. Further, whereas in the cool cloudy north we have long-continued very marked growth along with a strong tendency to blondness and blue eyes, in the sunny south we often have less bony development, but dark hair and eyes. Neither the so-called Mediterranean nor the so-called Nordic group is homogeneous at the present time, nor has it ever been, nor has it had a unitary origin. It has not branched off as a henceforth separate unit from some ancestral stock. It is in large measure an abstraction, convenient at times, but easily becoming misleading.

In the matter of Mediterranean types a distinction has sometimes been made between a small-boned darker and a taller less dark type with somewhat shorter head that has been called the Littoral or Atlanto-Mediterranean. There is a lingering doubt as to whether this supposed type may not be a result of averaging among a population with some broad heads sprinkled amongst a shorter long-headed Mediterranean population. There is, however, a type that does not accord with the above schemes, and that is occasionally seen in Denmark, West Scotland, Wales and South-West England and frequently

in North-Western Spain. It is very long-limbed, long-faced, and long-headed, and usually dark for its latitude. It can be seen in pictures by El Greco, and the tall, gaunt, dark, western Highlander is well-known. Whether it is the result of some cross or not it is not easy to say, but one notes that very tall, long-faced, very long-headed men were living on the Riviera coast of France in the later part of the Old Stone Age.

In Eastern Europe, between the Black Sea and the Baltic, there was in prehistoric times another belt of long-headed folk, including descendants of extreme long-heads as well as more moderate types ; and there is little doubt that drifts northwards along that belt contributed to the population of the Scandinavian peninsula as well. Drifts of Baltic traders and warriors southwards also occurred along this belt in later times, as they occurred along the sea coasts of the west under the Northmen.

It is probable that the marked growth in stature specially characteristic of the north has on the one hand some relation to climate and food, and on the other some effects on temperament and what we call mental characteristics, but, as regards the latter, we can but describe what we observe ; we know practically nothing of the factors which give rise to them. And here, as in the matter of purely physical characters, we have no uniformity in any area, so it is useless to say that the Swedes are of a certain racial mentality and the Spaniards of another. They have had different accumulations of traditions and contacts, different kinds of opportunities and difficulties. A considerable number of tall blond long-heads from the north were Vikings a thousand or more years ago, now a great many with no less energy and strength are among the most orderly and moderate of all mankind in both public organization and private life. Generalizations making national character something as inherent as head-form or even colouring are dangerous and mischievous ; Nazi propaganda has demonstrated this *ad nauseam*.

From Central Europe—Solutré in Burgundy and Ofnet in Bavaria—we have a few skulls of another kind, of the later part of the Old Stone Age in the first case and of what may be called its aftermath in the second. These are skulls that are relatively broader than those already discussed, chiefly because in most

cases they are shorter. At the same time, there are cases of very tall stature with big skull measurements and these also are relatively broad, though their lengths may also be great ; there is a certain correlation between stature and head measurements in many cases. Unfortunately, only moderate numbers of these broad heads have been described from ancient graves, but they at the present time form the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Central Europe from the interior of France to Russia and from Prussia to North Italy and to the Ægean and Greece. Towards the south and east of the Baltic Sea they are lighter in hair and eye, towards the Ægean they are dark.

Attempts have been made to suggest that broad-headedness has developed locally from long-headedness, for example in Lombardy. The Lombard conquerors of post-Roman times were probably largely long-headed men from the north, but there is no doubt that they married women of the land, and that many indigenous men also survived, so that the type common among the conquerors was largely submerged, though colouring here is still, often, lighter than that in many other parts of Italy.

If, then, we take head-form to be one of the most durable of physical characteristics, we can say that in Central Europe there is a great mass of broad-heads, whereas, in the Western Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula, the British Isles and the non-Arctic North-West, long-heads predominate. This has often been made the basis of a classification into three races named Mediterranean, Alpine and Nordic. The grounds for discrimination between Nordic and Mediterranean in head-form, it will be seen from the above, are not very satisfactory. In a crowd of either group one can note that the 'Nordic' group, if reasonably nourished, will have grown taller and will usually be bonier and more muscular than the 'Mediterranean' group, but there will be much variation in both. The length and prominence of the straight nose is often a good indication here. The more conspicuous differences will be in the matter of colouring, the darker among the Nordics may be less dark than the fairer among the Mediterraneans. In crowds from the British Isles one may find considerable numbers of taller, fairer,

usually more muscular men in areas known from history to have received considerable numbers of Viking or Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Or, again, one may find considerable numbers of shorter, darker, slighter men in areas known from archæology to have received considerable numbers of people, chiefly from South-West Europe, in the periods of building of the western great stone monuments. But one will also find everywhere in Britain numbers who are betwixt and between. These are appropriate to the latitude and climate, and usefully remind us that our classification is merely a convenient abstraction and not necessarily an indication of divergent origins.

Among the broad-heads of Europe a large element is stocky in build, of what those who describe constitution call the pycnic type, with a tendency to fatness especially around the hips. But other varieties are strikingly different and must be dealt with separately. The general stocky broad-head of rounded form is usually called the Alpine type.

A taller, bonier variety with prominent nose and very broad high head flattened at the back (i.e. rising almost vertically from the neck) is called the Dinaric type, because it is so characteristic among the mountain peoples of the west side of the Balkan peninsula ; but kindred variants also occur in the eastern Alps and Venetia, in the region east of the Carpathians as well as in Asia Minor and Armenia. To relate these to one another as though they had spread from a single centre is difficult, and Coon has an interesting hypothesis on the subject. He thinks these characters have arisen at various places where Alpines and Mediterraneans have crossed, and he fancies that the occurrence of Alpine and Mediterranean types with them in certain areas can be used to support this, as yet, unproven hypothesis.

A strong-boned, broad-headed dark type, which is sometimes taller than most other European broad-heads, has a coast-wise distribution in pockets in the west. Whether it, also, is to be looked upon as a result of crossing of Alpine and Mediterranean is not at all certain. It is, however, very unlikely that it could have arisen separately in a large number of coastal pockets ; far more probably it gives indications of ancient

coastwise maritime movements of peoples of some pre-Roman period.

Another group found chiefly in North Central Europe, the Low Countries and Britain has a big frame, and a round domed head with strong projecting brows. We have a number of skeletons of these people from burials of the dawn of the age of metal in round barrows with beaker-pots, and the physical type is notably handed down in some British families. Some observers believe that the big brow-ridges are a heritage from the Old Stone Age.

The broad-heads of Europe then, including some survivors of types of the later part of the Old Stone Age, show several varieties in bony framework. They also show variation in colouring. Towards the Baltic they tend to be fair, on the east of the Baltic with an inclination to rather straw-coloured hair; towards the Mediterranean they become dark; in the centre they are, appropriately, intermediate.

The purpose of this lecture is not to recite a list of varieties nor to discuss details of distribution, it is rather to clarify some general ideas about what is called race. It is a convenient abstraction of limited applicability, not a genetic fact of absolute validity. People of diverse origins, different in face and head-form for hereditary reasons, have in some cases become almost equally blond in north-west Europe, though not all the peoples of the north-west have become blond, nor is the blondness quite the same throughout. The word race always carries a suggestion of pure descent, and, if we speak of a blond race, we hide the fact that the blond populations have been set together from diverse sources and their diversities may persist as regards head-form and other features. If on the other hand we speak of a race of extreme long-heads we are bringing together people belonging, it may be, to widely divergent drifts, even if the extreme head form has a single source.

If we may apply a kitchen analogy, one may have carrots in many different stews and one should not put all those stews into one class because of the carrots; at any rate one should not do this without realizing how little such a class-name would mean.

Let us now think of the notorious case of the so-called Nordic Race in the light of these considerations. It shares many main features of its head form with the people of the Western Mediterranean, and ancient peoples of South Russia. As regards colouring it resembles closely a number of people of quite different head-form in Germany and the East Baltic lands. Its long-continued growth and strong bony frame are perhaps fairly characteristic features, though they are also found among broad-headed people in North Germany. Even if we use the Nordic name only for the long-headed tall blonds of Sweden and parts of Norway, we must remember that there are in those countries remnants of other types as well as descendants of immigrants carrying quite other characters, and there has been intermarriage for generations.

But, many will say, physical characteristics are, after all, a minor matter. How about mental and cultural features? Is it the fact, as some have alleged, that these blond people, even admitting their mixed origin, are yet the creators and distributors of European civilization? The answer is that this is fantastic nonsense. The West Baltic comes into the human story first as the home of humble and backward peoples picking up rudiments of some arts from peoples further south. It is not until the advent and the interaction of two groups of immigrants from afar that the life of the region opens out. The builders of great stone monuments came to the West Baltic from the Mediterranean, around by sea for the most part, and met in the Jutish peninsula peoples that had moved in from the south-east, and, either through their own migrations or through their contacts on their way, had acquired a distinctive heritage. Each group brought an assortment of elements of culture, and each demonstrates in the West Baltic its particular form of burial. As time went on some of the arts declined, but the tombs of each variety came to contain grave goods hitherto characteristic of the other variety. In other words, the two cultures mixed. They were apparently conservatively minded and continued to provide their dead with stone implements after bronze had come into their ken. In due course the amber of the Baltic shores gave material for export, in exchange for which came ores or

the tin of Bohemia, and then began a great development of trade and metal craftsmanship that seems to be pictured in the legends as the age of Odin, contrasted with the earlier age of Thor. It was the age of the sword and spear as contrasted with the earlier age of the stone battle-axe. What we need to note here is that the ingredients of what was a remarkable blossoming of culture were nearly all imported, and that these importations included people not of one stock only but of two or more. And the intermingling of these peoples and their opening out of trade and intercourse are major factors of the blossoming.

Neither in race nor in culture have we to do with evolution of something isolated, growing from purely local roots. It is intercourse and intermixture of cultures that enrich society. No one desires to minimize the value of the peoples of the Baltic. No one sees more clearly than the Danish scholars have done that their early efforts towards the arts and crafts grew from imported inspiration. The early blossoming was not long continued. No doubt something must be allowed for the dying down of the ideas brought in, but a worsening of the climate, cold wet summers and hard winters, towards the middle of the last millennium B.C. are the basis for stories of the twilight of the gods. The later story of the so-called Nordic peoples shows their evolution of ships and their marauding efforts along the coasts of West and South-West Europe in the post-Roman centuries, as well as their enterprises both westward to Iceland and Greenland and between the Baltic and the Black Sea in what was to become Russia. They were trading with Islamised peoples the while the Christianized west and south of Europe were on the defensive against Muhammadan invasions along Mediterranean shores cutting old trade routes. Their expansionist effort took these forms while Europe further south was struggling with impoverishment of trade and towns and trying to make up for this set-back by clearing forests and founding villages, with the accompanying spread of the common-field idea with strips for each household and communal tillage with a heavy plough, the *carruca* as opposed to the lighter *aratrum* of the squarish fields of the old Mediterranean. Northern expansionism of the marauding type having passed away, the

peoples of the northern lands have become peaceable, orderly and reasonable, a warning to those who try to say that mentality is racial and unchangeable and that war and adventure make Nordic glory. It is not that they have lost courage or enterprise ; it is rather that they have gained understanding and found outlets for their energy that build up civilization rather than destroy it. The contrast between those peoples which have some claim to the Nordic name and others who are merely would-be Nordic is an outstanding fact of the world's life to-day. In place of courageous adventure one finds organized exploitation and decadent sadism venting its spite and jealousy upon helpless victims. The worst sufferers among those victims present us with another of the main problems of race in Europe. They are the Jews.

Here the basis is undoubtedly a number of groups of wanderers of the Syrian desert border, settling more or less towards the latter part of the second millennium B.C. in the lands west of Jordan. Long-headed, brownish people of moderate stature with a strong profile came into contact with Philistines, who were recent settlers on the coastlands of South Palestine with a more urbanized life and the ordinary Mediterranean appearance—long-headed people of slighter build and less developed profile. They also met and mixed with older-settled people of the land, whom some think of as including broad-headed groups allied to the Hittites of Asia Minor, though Coon disputes this.

Any co-operation between the northern group (Dan and Asher), the middle or Joseph group with its allies, and the southern group (Judah and Benjamin) was precarious and temporary. The northern group was drawn into Phoenician trade, the middle group was influenced towards fusion with other peoples in their vicinity, the southern group clung to its hills and resisted a century after the middle one lost itself. The northern and middle groups can no longer be identified ; they may have contributed to Hebrew communities in Mesopotamia, but it was the southern group that managed to maintain its tradition even by the waters of Babylon. As incomers into a settled land they could hardly take part in agriculture, and, from the days of Solomon, they seem to have learned to trade

and to play one possible oppressor off against another. The Persian rulers, with their system of roads, gave the Hebrews of Mesopotamia an increased opportunity in trade, while their scheme of toleration permitted the re-establishment of the old cult in Jerusalem. Alexander's conquest opened up further trading opportunities in Asia, and the Roman system allowed Jewish traders to spread especially to the outposts of the Empire, in Spain, on the Rhine and probably also in parts of South-East Europe. The fall of the Roman Empire and the decline of trade associated with Islamic invasions meant a period of poverty and disorder during which groups changed name and faith so much that their group-consciousness does not seem to have been strong. We cannot but think that there was a fair amount of intermixture at that stage between Jew and Gentile in Europe.

When Europe began to hold up its head again, growing group-consciousness in France and England led to expulsion of Jews, but in Spain they, as it were, came between Christians and Muslim and their famous rabbis contributed greatly to thought. Another group that prospered for a time was that in the ex-Roman cities of the Rhine. In South-East Europe we hear of the ruler and some leading families of the Khazars of South Russia accepting the Jewish faith. In each of the three cases we thus have a group distinct from its neighbours by religious tradition; and each carried a Palestinian physical inheritance mixed, as time went on, with local elements brought in at least sometimes by conversion to what must have been groups of higher culture than that of most of their European neighbours at the time. Nowhere could the Jewish groups easily merge into the village populations of peasants, they must remain chiefly in the cities as traders and go-betweens.

It is important to try to follow the fate of these chief Jewish groups in its main features at least. In Spain the growing strength of the Christians and the weakening of the Moors made the Jewish intermediaries less useful and, wherever group-consciousness is growing, it resents the presence of elements it cannot assimilate. In war, also, intermediaries are under suspicion from both sides. The services of the Jews to Spain and Portugal thus did not prevent persecution and expulsion as an

accompaniment of the rise of Spanish unity consummated under the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. The Spanish Jews or Sephardim, with some admixture of Spanish features, spread to Salonika, to Holland, eventually also to England, to the great gain of those countries which received them. The populations they came into were already composite, and yet strong enough in unifying factors to feel able to welcome contributors whom they were not likely wholly to assimilate. The Rhenish Jews faced a very different situation: in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a recovery after the dark ages had set in, especially in and near bishops' seats, where the church had preserved to some extent Roman traditions of order and of urban life. Expansion here took what one may call a missionary turn. The idea of spreading urban life and Christianity eastwards in Central Europe was an important factor in the life of the Holy Roman Empire, and made the acceptance of unassimilable elements difficult. As the urban idea spread more rapidly than did the Imperial power, the Jewish elements found opportunities, especially towards the east, beyond the frontier of Germanic speech, along parts of which line Imperial rule halted for a while. But as the urban idea was spreading, it was natural that urban organization should be strengthened and we have the growth of power of the City Fathers and the Guilds. These linked their ceremonies with the church, even if they quarrelled with bishops and archbishops; and consequently the Jewish element was put in an inferior position inevitably outside these Christian guilds, driven to trade by undercutting, and made to pay ready money and yet give credit to others. It could not take a full part in either urban or rural organization, and laws against intermarriage were multiplied, but not until long after intermixture had taken place.

Jews spreading east to escape from restrictions interwove themselves with Jews and Judaized elements spreading west to escape from Tartar pressure, and it is from these varied elements that the Ashkenazim group has been constituted. With a Palestinian foundation this group thus has elements within it drawn from all the groups of men in Central and East Central Europe. A considerable census of Jews in Germany

showed that 30 per cent. of them were blond, and, in a Nazi competition for the most perfect Nordic girl, the prize-winner was afterwards proved to be of Jewish descent in the main. Similarly, while there are a good many long-heads among Jewish groups, the great majority of the Ashkenazim is broad-headed like the people among whom they live.

It is true that there is an alternative theory about the blond Jews to the effect that they carry the characteristics of the supposedly Nordic Amorites. This is at best very vague, and has little behind it save the fact that the Amorites seem to have been big men and have been linked with the 'Nordic' group on this basis and on that of the theory of the migration of the Amorites to Palestine from the northern steppe lands. But, in the first place, we do not know that the ancient long-headed population of Turkestan was blond, nor that the Amorites were really blond, though some Egyptian paintings depict people with blue eyes, fair hair and a whitish skin from Syria. In the second place, it would be strange, on that theory, that blondness should be common among Jews where their neighbours include a proportion of blonds, and rare where they live among dark-haired, dark-eyed people. Another line of research has led to similar results. It has become possible to examine certain characters of the blood fluid and this has been done for both Jews and non-Jews in various regions. In North Africa and S.W. Asia the blood characters of the Jews are much like those of the Arabic or Arabized populations, a fact which needs no further discussion. In Berlin and Holland, again, the Jews have blood characters close to those of the non-Jewish population and very different from those of the North African Jews. Jews and Non-Jews are again much alike in blood characters in the Crimea, Caucasus and Turkestan, but the Jews again very different from their co-religionists in the two regions previously mentioned.

When, however, the Jewish group is a result of fairly recent migration, it retains some of the characteristics of its former home and group. Thus the Jews of East Central Europe comprise a large element from further west, and, in blood characters, are more like western peoples than are the Slavonic folk among whom they have settled.

Without denying that there are physical characteristics which occur frequently among Jews, it is obvious that only distorted prejudice can attempt to single out a so-called Jewish race. The Jewish tradition on the other hand is a great reality that has contributed and can contribute to enrich our European civilization. To try to suppress it in the interest of a supposed unity is to impoverish Europe as well as to act on a false principle. All through Europe people of diverse heritage live side by side in the same street, and our problem is to build up an overriding harmony that will permit the enriching diversities within the group to contribute of their best to the commonwealth. All present attempts to evaluate human types in Europe as superior or inferior are based on prejudice. The Mediterranean peoples have found opportunities to contribute especially to urbanism and the arts. The broad-heads of the centre have made a great deal of our peasant life and tradition, the tall blond long-heads of the north have in recent centuries made a special contribution to co-operation and understanding. Wherever through intercourse there have been opportunities for diverse stocks to supplement one another's efforts a focus of civilization has been developed.

TWICE-RAPED LOUVAIN¹

By HENRY CUPPY

LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

FOR the second time within the space of a little more than twenty-five years the famous library of the University of Louvain has been deliberately destroyed by the German vandals. It was during the night between 25th and 26th August, 1914, that the first barbarous destruction of the library took place, and one of the immediate results was to call forth not only a storm of righteous indignation against the perpetrators of so outrageous and unprovoked an act of vandalism, but also a wide and sympathetic interest in the history of this interesting foundation. The University of Louvain was founded in 1425, but for two centuries it did not possess a central library. The students were dependent upon the libraries attached to the various faculties, colleges and religious establishments scattered throughout the city. It was not until 1627 that the University possessed its own library, which owed its origin to the generosity of an old student, Laurent Bayerlinck. Since then it has passed through many vicissitudes. In 1795, during the French *régime*, the commissars of the *République* removed 5,000 volumes, including the most precious of the manuscripts, and in 1797 the same authority selected a further 718 volumes to equip the *Ecole Centrale* at Brussels. In 1805, by a decree of Napoleon, the property of the library was vested in the city, but in 1835, by a communal decree, it was returned to the University.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty the number of volumes of which the library was composed in 1914, but it must have been not less than 250,000 volumes, of which 1,000 were manuscripts ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and a rich collection of incunabula. All that remained of this previous collection on the morning after the holocaust

¹ Reprinted from the *Spectator* of May 31, 1940, with the permission of the Editor.

were a few half-charred leaves of books and manuscripts among the *débris*.

Steps were immediately taken to give some expression to our deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University in the grievous loss they had sustained through this senseless act, and the Governors of the John Rylands Library decided that this could best be accomplished by means of a gift of books to form the nucleus of a new library. Accordingly a selection of 200 volumes was offered to the Louvain authorities as an earnest of what we hoped would be a library not unworthy of their acceptance. The offer was gratefully accepted as the first act towards the preparation of their revival, but as the University at the time was dismembered and homeless, we undertook to house the volumes until such time as Belgium had been freed from the invaders, and the University had been repatriated. That undertaking having been given, it was felt that there must be many other libraries and learned institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in such an expression of practical sympathy, and in the subsequent issue of the Rylands Bulletin (April, 1915) we launched our first appeal for help, announcing our willingness to undertake the custody of any suitable works that might be entrusted to us for the purpose of assisting in the equipment of the new library.

The appeal met with an immediate and generous response, and offers of help reached us from all parts of the English-speaking world, as well as from several of the allied and neutral countries. This gratifying result was obtained largely through the ready and valuable assistance of the Press throughout the eleven years which intervened between the issue of our first appeal and the dispatch of the last consignment of the new library to Louvain. In one of our earliest reports of progress we dared to express the hope that the new library, which was already rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, would be richer and more glorious than its predecessor.

It was a source of great encouragement to find with what promptitude the universities, the learned societies, and the leading publishers resolved to participate in our scheme, and

a new impetus was given to it, in 1916, by the British Academy in forming an international committee in co-operation with the *Institut de France* to consider the best way of organising and developing the scheme originated by the Governors of the Rylands Library. When our appeal reached America it was given a most enthusiastic welcome, and it soon came to be realised that, with the co-operation of our friends in the United States, it should be possible not only to replace the contents of the library but to provide a new building to house them. To this end a strong and influential committee was formed, but it was decided that so long as the United States maintained her neutrality it was unwise to take any outwardly active part in the movement. When, however, on 11th November, 1918, the Armistice was signed, one of the first steps to be taken by the United States was to offer to rebuild the library. The offer was gratefully accepted by the Louvain authorities, and steps were immediately taken to provide an up-to-date building, the foundation-stone of which was laid amidst great rejoicing on 21st June, 1921.

The aim with which we inaugurated our scheme was to replace the library, and we did not doubt the ultimate success of our project, but we did not anticipate any result so completely satisfactory as that which was obtained through the generosity of our friends both here and in America. It was with a very real view of the scope of a modern university that we entered upon our task of providing our friends at Louvain with at least the nucleus of a new library designed to meet the immediate requirements of a progressive general university, in which provision is made for everything useful in the development of mind and matter.

The modern, up-to-date institution is no longer limited to things academic. The term "academic" under modern conditions has acquired a new and broader significance, it has developed into a place where everything useful may be studied, and as a result a demand has sprung up, in the University of Louvain, as elsewhere, for the literature of technology and the useful arts, surrounded by a whole new literature relating to various crafts. Nothing is now alien to the university library,

which, in consequence, is called upon to give shelter to universal literature.

In January, 1919, Belgium having been freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, the University of Louvain was repatriated, the authorities returning to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to assemble their scattered students to resume their interrupted work. During the first year there were 3,200 students in attendance, but they were seriously hampered through the absence of a library. Fortunately we were ready to remedy the deficiency. Temporary premises had been secured, and we had the privilege of assisting to furnish the shelves with a live, up-to-date collection of books calculated to meet the requirements of staff and students, consisting of a first instalment of 30,427 volumes. This was followed by ten other consignments, which raised the total number of volumes obtained by the British Committee to the substantial figure of 55,782 volumes. The new library, which was opened on 4th July, 1928, was erected on a splendid site at the highest part of the town, overlooking the *Place du Peuple*, the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany. The entire cost of the building was defrayed by the people of the United States, through a strong and influential national committee. Not only did the committee provide the necessary million dollars, but with great vision and forethought they furnished the authorities with a further sum of \$125,000 with which to provide for the upkeep of the building.

The style of the building was appropriately that of the seventeenth-century Flemish Renaissance. No attempt was made to reproduce the destroyed building, which was of a composite character. Every detail of the new design was Flemish, and its construction was in brick and stone of local origin. The length of the façade was 230 feet, with a depth of 150 feet. It was an imposing building recalling the purest traditions of Flemish and Brabantine art. This was America's contribution to the scheme of reconstruction. Over the principal entrance stood a figure of the Blessed Virgin, while two escutcheons bore respectively the arms of Belgium and the United States.

Along the base of the slate roof ran a stone balustrade, worked in the form of letters composing the words :

“ Furore Teutonico Diruta, Dono Americano Restituta.”

The register of contributors which accompanied the British gift contained 700 names of individuals and institutions. Many of the gifts partook of the sanctity of sacrifice, consisting, as they did, of treasured possessions given in memory of deceased friends, of whom some laid down their lives in the cause of liberty and truth. Whatever steps may be taken again to offer the helping hand to our friends at Louvain it is unlikely that we should be able to offer the equivalent of the 750,000 volumes, which, it is estimated, the library contained at the time of its destruction, or the equivalent of the thousand manuscripts which were destroyed in 1914.

cities and townes of the whiche thanked be God, although you be com-
mently furnished both within your realmes of England & Ireland
and principallite of Wales yet by lineal descent, by progeny or blood and
by very inheritance not onely the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine
with the countie of Anjou and Mayne and the countie of Salern
are to you as true and undoubted heir of the same lawfully deuoluted
and lineally descended from the high and most noble prince of famous
memory King Edward the third your great grandfather, but also the
whole realme of France with all his prerogatives and preeminences,
to you as here to your great grandfather is of right belonging
and apperteyning. In whiche realme, to rehearse what noble persons,
what beautifull cities, what fertile regions, what substantiall marchan-
tes, and what plentifull riuers are conserued and included. I assure
you that time should rather sayle then water should be waist. The
traudulent Frenchmen to defraude and take away your right and ti-
tle to the realme of France, in the tyme of your noble progenitor King
Edward the thirde, alledged a lawe, vntreuly sayned, falsely gloied and
Sophistically expounded, wherof the very wordes are these, Interam
salicam mulieres ne succedant, which is to say, let not womē succede in the
land. Salique. This land Salique the decessit glousters name to be
the realme of France. This lawe the Logically interpretours assigne
to directe the crowne and regalitie of the same region as who would say
that to that p. chennence no woman were habile to aspire, nor no heire
female was worthy to inherite. The French writers affirm that Phara-
mond King of the French Gaules, first instituted this lawe which
meant was, though it might be broken. See nowe howe an euill glote
comundereth the text, and a perciall interpretour marreth the sentence,
for first it is apparantly knowne and by an hundred writers confirmed
that Pharamond whom they alledge to be author of this lawe was
Duke of Franconia in Germany and elected to be King of the Sacra-
ment which calling them selves Frenchmen had gotten a parte of the
Gaule. Likwise betwene the rulers of Darne and Seyn. This Phara-
mond discealed in the yere of our Lord. iiii. C. and. xvi. long after whose
death, Charles the great being Emperoure and many yeres making
warre on the Saxons yd in bluddy battaile disperse and confounde
the whole puissance of that nation in the yere of our Lord. viii. C. and
five and broughte them to the catholique faith and christian confor-
mitie. After whiche victory certayne souldiers as the French Crono-
graphers affirm passed ouer the water of Sala and there inhabited,
betwene the riuers of Elue and Sala, and wer commonly called Sa-
li Frenchmen or sally Gaules, whiche countrey nowe is the lande of
Saxony. This people had suche displeasure at the vnhonest fashions
of the German women, that they made a lawe that the females shuld
not succede to any inheritance within that land.

NOVE with indifferent cases yf you will note these two pointes
you

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE RECENTLY
DISCOVERED COPY OF EDWARD HALL'S
"UNION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES OF
LANCASTER AND YORK," NOTABLE FOR
ITS MANUSCRIPT ADDITIONS.

By ALAN KEEN.

IT has been my good fortune to light upon a volume, unimportant in itself as most imperfect books are, but having such manuscript additions as to reveal it as a discovery of singular interest. The book is a copy of the fourth issue of Edward Hall's "Union of the Families of Lancaster and York," 1550: edited and printed by Richard Grafton, wanting title and preliminary matter and elsewhere imperfect at the beginning and end. But what most concerns us is the very complete marginalia which cover that portion of the book between the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and V. Actually the chronicle begins with Henry IV but since the circumstances of Richard's kingship, deposition and unhappy end materially bear upon the York and Lancaster cycle, Hall gives a detailed account of the latter part of Richard's reign by way of an 'introduction' to Henry IV. The fact that Hall's chronicle is a known source-book for Shakespeare's earlier historical plays and that the annotations within the present copy virtually end with the reign of Henry V, after carefully covering the period of Shakespeare's historical tetralogy, *Richard II*, the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, may provide an argument in favour of Shakespeare's hand in the marginalia. At first sight it would seem evident that Shakespeare took his design for this series of plays from Hall, just as whole passages from Hall appear almost word for word in the plays. I do not, however, here propose to balance the sum total of Shakespeare's indebtedness to either Hall or Holinshed. The latter was undoubtedly his chief source, and as Holinshed copied wholesale from Hall there are naturally

very many correspondences between both chroniclers, our annotator and the four Shakespearean plays covered by his careful pen. Space must therefore confine my paper to a brief preliminary survey of the evidence before us.

Richard II. The annotator begins on fol. iii of Hall, or Act i, Sc. iii in the play, where the King has appointed a meeting between Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, to settle their dispute in mortal combat. The sequence of the first five marginal notes demonstrates admirably the economy with which the annotator prosecutes the action of (what we presume to be) his play :

fol. 3. the duke of herford entryd the lystes.
the Kynge present with many armyd.

fol. 4a. The justynge was stopped sodenly by the Kynge.
Henry duke of herford banissshed for X year.
Thomas duke of Norfolk banissshid for ever.

The King, in pronouncing sentence upon the two men summoned before him, declaims :

. . . You Cousin Hereford . . .
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields
Shall not regret our fair dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

and

Norfolk : for thee remains a heavier doom
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce.
The sly slow hours shall not determinate
The dateless limit of thy dear exile :
The hopeless word, of never to return,
Breathe I against thee. . . .

Thus upon the last two of the five prosaic notes in the margin of his chronicle, the annotator, supposing him to be Shakespeare, builds his incomparable imagery. In the relation by Hall of the murder of King Richard, which is towards the end of the play, the same matter-of-fact brevity occurs from our annotator :

*Kynge Richard fought manfullye befor
deathe as some saye*

echoed in Act v, Sc. v, by Sir Piers Exton, his murderer, who, on surveying Richard's dead body at his feet, cries : " As full

of valour, as of royal blood": against Hall's account of Exton's remorse is written, '*a soden repentance.*' It will thus be seen how closely the annotator's notes are akin to not only the structural facts for his dramatic purpose, but also to the emotional reactions of his characters as well.

Henry IV. As the action of the first part of Shakespeare's play opens with the third year of Henry's reign we turn to folio xix verso of the chronicle, the text of which begins, "In thys yere appered a comete or blasyng Starre of a hounge quantitie by a long season whiche as the Astronomers affirmed signified great effusion of mannes blud." Our annotator writes '*cometa*' in the margin against this passage, indulging perhaps his pride in his 'little latin' with the more purposeful object of the note, that of the substance of the King's speech which opens the first scene of Act i:

... those opposed eyes,
Which like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in the intestine shock
And furious close of civil butchery.

Immediately following comes the note '*the pearcys offendyd for prysoners,*' to cover that portion of the text of the old chronicle which recounts the quarrel of King Henry with Hotspur and his uncle over the Scottish prisoners. Open disagreement with Henry upon this issue provokes our annotator to note '*the pearcys forsake the kynge.*' Then comes the Welsh prophecy of "the dreamer Merlin," which occurs in Hotspur's speech (Act iii, Sc. i), is marked on the margin of the chronicle by a pen bracket and the note '*a p(ro)phecie of the mollwarpe, the dragon the lyon and the wolff.*' Again we have the sequence of points noted, upon which a distinct movement in relation to the dramatic passage of the play finds agreement; e.g. '*the crye of the battayle*' against "Esperaunce Percie," and '*a good corage of the prince*' to cover Hall's relation of the slaying of Hotspur in single combat by the young Prince Henry. To pass over the many incidents and events recorded by the chronicler and selectively noted by the annotator during the reign of Henry IV, it is interesting nevertheless to scan the first

eleven words of the note on folio 33 which is at the end of the reign so far as the chronicle is concerned, and expresses the blood-guilt of the dying king: '*Kinge henrye semithe to confesse that he had the crowne wrongefullye. . . .*' Shakespeare brings the magic of his art to record this last scene between father and son in which Henry admits:

. . . God knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
I met this crown; . . .

Henry V. It was this portion of the annotated chronicle which gave me the first clue to its possible Shakespearean identity. On folio iv my eye caught the underlining of an already prominent passage printed in roman characters as distinct from the surrounding black letter, *In terram salicam mulieres ne succedant*, against which the annotator had written '*note the exposition.*' Of course! '*No woman shall succeed in Salique Land*': Upon the page facing (fol. iii verso) was written, '*nota¹ that a byll was framyd against the te(m)porall lands of the sp(irit)uall me(n),*' followed by a line at either end of which was a double cross, and lower down another double cross. At first sight these marks, though undoubtedly there to emphasise something of importance in the text, did not seem to be of much significance, until I had read and re-read again that opening scene of Henry V in which the Bishops of Ely and Canterbury are discovered in conference upon that 'byll' by which Canterbury fears they will lose

. . . the better half of our possession:
For all the temporal lands which men devout
By testament have given to the Church. . . .

It was then I realised exactly what our annotator wished to emphasise, especially that paragraph directly opposite his third and single double cross in which Hall remarks upon the character of Canterbury, "a man mucche regardyng Godes law, but more louyng his owne lucre." It is in exactly this temper

¹ Cf. introduction to Richard II, J. Dover Wilson, Cambridge, 1939, in glossary of which is given the meaning (as used by Shakespeare) of the term 'note' or 'nota.'

that Shakespeare has drawn the character of the scheming Bishop. A point already mentioned in the special article upon the present copy which appeared in *The Times* of 29th August and which may bear repetition, is the curious misprint which appears on fol. iv, line 40, a single word "*Elue*." It is notable that when Shakespeare gives the names of the two German rivers Elbe and Sala in his first-folio (true) text, he misspells "*Elbe*" as "*Elve*," despite the fact that Holinshed with all other chroniclers correctly give the word as "*Elbe*." Did this misprint mislead the writer of the annotations . . . Shakespeare? From these two pages of the chronicle, the focal points to the preliminary structure of Henry V, we pass on, to meet with a bewildering array of notes by our annotator, richly illustrative of the stately and stirring pageant of this, the greatest of Shakespeare's chronicle histories. He inscribes the familiar 'old saying' of Westmorland on folio vii, '*he that wyll fraunce wynde with scotland he must begynne*,' besides noting the 'Tonne of tennes balles sent as ys reported'—the Dolphin's gratuitous insult to the young King Henry—on folio x.

The period of the play embracing the Battle of Agincourt is, as we might expect, profusely annotated where our copy of Hall is concerned. It is in one of his notes surrounding the detail of the conflict that the annotator reveals something of his own mind. This is on folio xvii verso, in which the device of fortifying an army by stakes driven into the ground to repel the oncoming horsemen, causes him to write, '*The inventorynge of stakes which now I thinke be moris pykes*.' This weapon, possibly of Moorish origin, was in use during the Tudor and Elizabethan periods, certainly not at the time of Agincourt, though the actors and playwrights of Shakespeare's day did not hesitate to dress their historical, even Roman tragedies, with the habiliments and properties of the current hour and fashion. That Shakespeare was familiar with the morris-pike is seen in a single reference to the weapon in *The Comedy of Errors*, Act iv, Sc. ii, Dromio of Syracuse says, ". . . he sir, that takes pity on decayed men, and gives them suits of durance; he that sets up his rest to do more exploits with his mace than a morris-

pike." As neither Hall nor Holinshed makes mention in their texts of morris-pikes it would seem to be a personal observation of the annotator and not merely an echo of the old chronicler.

So far we have but touched lightly upon the manuscript content of the chronicle. It would take a very broad canvas indeed to take in the mass of detail, often colour, which lies within the four hundred and five odd annotations to this remarkable volume. My friend and collaborator, Mr. Noel Blakiston, who also happens to be an official of the Public Record Office, has brought a keenly analytical and unbiassed mind to the problem of identification of the "old annotator" and has now completed his survey, which will be published, we hope, within the next three or four months. Mr. Blakiston's contribution is extremely valuable, and he has kindly allowed me to make use of his recent notes upon the pedigree of this copy of Hall, a pedigree which should go far towards the successful proving of our case. I cannot do better, therefore, than conclude this paper with some facts concerning one Richard Newport, who seems to be the first owner of the volume to record his name within its pages, and whose autograph, "Rychard Newport" occurs twice, and elsewhere "R. N. 6. Aprill a° 1565." Mr. Blakiston's review of the Newport and Underhill families and their connexion with New Place, Stratford on Avon, is given in his own words.

"By fine of Easter 1544 Edward Underhill sold the Manor of Hunningham, co. Warwick, to Richard Newport, gentleman.¹ This Richard Newport is presumably identical with the Richard Newport who appears in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, October 1557, as a commissioner to collect a loan within the county of Warwick. He died on 11 November 1565 and was succeeded by his son John Newport who died in the following spring, on 28 April, 1566, as appears from his Inquisition Post Mortem.² This John Newport had married Dorothy, the daughter of William Hatton of Holdenby, co. Northants, and sister of Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor,

¹ For this, and other facts concerning the Underhills, see *The Underhills of Warwickshire*, by J. H. Morrison (Camb. Univ. Press, 1932).

² E. 150/1162/2.

John Newport left a son and heir William. Within a very few months the connection between the Underhills and Hunningham was renewed, for Dorothy Newport married William Underhill of Idlicote. But the connection between the Newports and the Underhills was probably always a close one. 'The fact,' says Morrison, 'that her' (i.e. Dorothy's) 'son by her first marriage was named William and that William Underhill's eldest daughter (by his first wife) was named Dorothy, seems to indicate a long-standing friendship between the two families.' And Richard Newport's daughter, Elizabeth, married Humphrey Underhill, of Kineton, one of William Underhill's many Warwickshire cousins at about the same time that William married Dorothy Newport.

"This William Underhill was a lawyer. He was admitted to the Inner Temple 3, Feby. 1551 and became a Bencher of the Inn. His second marriage lasted a very short time. His wife made her will on December 9, 1566 and in the Easter Term of 1567 she is referred to as deceased. On 24 December 1566 William Underhill was granted the Administration of John Newport's estate. It may be supposed that Dorothy was dead at this latter date. She left William Underhill a stepson, William Newport, aged seven years.

"On 12 November 1567, when Shakespeare was three and a half years old, William Underhill bought New Place, the principal house in Stratford on Avon, only fifteen miles away from Hunningham. On 31 March 1570 he died and was succeeded by his son William who sold the house to Shakespeare on 4 May 1597. This William Underhill died on 7 July 1597, poisoned by his son Fulk.

"No evidence has come to light as to whether William Underhill the elder, fitted up his new house with a library. It can only be said that his profession shows him to have been an intellectual man, and that he was a widower of middle age (forty-three). There was only his infant stepson, and fifteen miles, between him and the Newport books.

"It is at least known that there was a library at New Place at the time that Shakespeare's son-in-law, John Hall, lived there. Dr. John Hall had married Susanna, the poet's daughter, in 1607.

The Halls, who were Shakespeare's principal legatees, occupied New Place after his death. The following is an extract from John Hall's nuncupative will, dated 25 November 1635 :—

item, concerning my study of books, I leave
them, said he, to you, my son Nash, to dispose
of them as you see good.¹

'My son Nash' was Thomas Nash, husband of Elizabeth, John and Susanna Hall's daughter.

"John Hall died in 1636. In 1637 Baldwin Brookes, a mercer of Stratford on Avon, sued Susanna Hall and Thomas Nash for a debt of £77 13s. 4d. In their answer² the defendants stated :—

. . . the said bayliffes did then and there breake open the doores and studdy of the said howse (i.e. New Place) and rashlye seise uppon and take divers bookes boxes deskes moneyes bonds bills and other goods of greate value as well which were of the said John Halls.

Hall's Chronicle among them ?

"Of course there may have been half a dozen Richard Newports who knew how to write in 1565. I know of one, Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall, Shropshire, knighted in 1560. On 12 July 1569, as appears from the Calendar of State Papers Domestic, he was a Commissioner of Musters for Shropshire. Is it likely that this Richard Newport would have written his name three times without giving away the fact that he was a Knight ?

"Finally, we must notice a more youthful hand in the volume which wrote 'Edward' on fol. xiii verso. Was this writer a Newport ? An Edward Newport Esquire was associated with Shakespeare in a lawsuit in 1615 (P.R.O. C. 2. Jas. I, B. 11/9).

"It will be evident that a great deal of research has yet to be done. We may be sure, however, that if the results of further investigation are as fruitful as those already seen, a strong case may emerge in support of the present theory that William Shakespeare at some time read and annotated this copy of the Chronicle of Edward Hall."

¹ Quoted in J. O. Halliwell's *An historical account of the New Place, Stratford upon Avon* (London, 1864), p. 106.

² Chancery Proceedings (C. 7/49/115), quoted in F. Marcham's *William Shakespeare and his Family* (1931).

THE CAPTIVITY OF A ROYAL WITCH: THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS OF QUEEN JOAN OF NAVARRÉ, 1419-21.

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IN the long line of the Queens of England, Joan of Navarre, the Queen of Henry IV, is, in most respects, not of outstanding note. In one way, however, she is unique; she is the only Queen of England to be imprisoned for treason by means of witchcraft. Yet few Queens have had less reason to be discontented with their lot, and few have been less malevolent than she. Contemporary chroniclers record with unquestioning confidence the charges of sorcery and necromancy brought against her; to the modern historian the explanation of this strange episode is not so simple as that. The evidence of two household accounts, one of which is printed below, the other to be printed later, for a considerable portion of Joan's imprisonment, does not provide by any means a master-key to the problem; but it helps a good deal towards a solution.

The story of Queen Joan's reputed sorcery has often been told before; but it may be well to recall the main facts. Joan, or Joanna, of Navarre, Duchess of Brittany from 1386 to 1399, became in 1403 the second wife, and the Queen, of Henry IV, King of England. The new Queen was received with great pomp,¹ and a dowry of 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) per annum was bestowed on her.² The royal favour thus shown to her continued throughout the reign of Henry IV; and not only was she on good terms with the King, but her relations with all her

¹ Cf. J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, vol. i (London, 1884), pp. 309-310.

² *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls]*, 1401-5, p. 213; *Rot[uli] Parl[iamentorum]*, iii. 532b.

step-sons and step-daughters appear to have been friendly throughout her husband's lifetime.¹ After his death she seems to have continued for several years on very amicable terms with King Henry V; but in 1419 there came a sudden change. On the 27th September, 1419, the royal council² made an order depriving her of her dowry and all her other revenues and possessions;³ and four days later she was arrested and taken from her own⁴ manor-house of Havering-atte-Bower in Essex to the royal manor-house of Rotherhithe, in Surrey.⁵ The reason, so it was stated in parliament, was that her confessor, John Randolf, a Franciscan friar of Shrewsbury,⁶ had accused her "of compassing the death and destruction of our lord the king in the most treasonable and horrible manner that could be devised".⁷ Contemporary chroniclers said more bluntly that she had tried "by sorcery and necromancy for to have destroyed the king".⁸ Two members of her household, Roger

¹ There seems to be no evidence in support of the suggestion of Benjamin Williams, on p. xix of the Introduction to his edition of Thomas Elmham's *Henrici Quinti Angliae Regis Gesta* (London, 1850), that in 1411 Joan had used her influence with the King to the detriment of Henry, Prince of Wales. It would, on the other hand, be wrong to suppose, as Miss Agnes Strickland did, in her *Lives of the Queens of England* (2nd edition, London, 1852), ii. 83-84, that in the latter years of Henry IV "such confidential feelings subsisted between young Henry and Joanna, that he employed her influence for the purpose of obtaining the king's consent to the marriage of the young earl of March, at that time ward to the prince". The two extracts from the Issue Rolls which she quotes in support of this statement are merely records of the sums paid by the Prince for the transfer to himself of the feudal right of marriage over the Earl of March from Queen Joan, to whom it had been granted in February, 1408 (*C.P.R.*, 1405-8, p. 408). The transaction was therefore quite an ordinary one.

² The King had set sail for France in July, 1417, leaving his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and a council to govern the country in his absence, and did not return until February, 1421. He and Joan must still have been on good terms when he left England, for a truce with the Duke of Brittany, which Henry made on the 16th November, 1417, was expressly stated to have been due to the appeals of Queen Joan (T. Rymer, *Foedera*, London, 1729, ix. 511).

³ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 118b.

⁴ Granted to her for life on the 9th September, 1403 (*C.P.R.*, 1401-5, p. 259).

⁵ Exchequer Accounts 406/30 (to be printed later), f. 2a; *The Brut*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (E.E.T.S., 1906), ii. 444.

⁶ F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (London, 1837), p. 365.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 118b.

⁸ C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), p. 73; *Chronicle of London, 1089-1483* (ed. N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell, London, 1827), p. 107.

Colles, also of Shrewsbury, and Peronell Brocart, were implicated in the affair, as was John Randolph himself.¹ Indeed, the latter was said to have been the tempter who had caused the Queen to resort to witchcraft. He was seized in Guernsey, and taken to Normandy ;² later, he was sent back to England and shut up in the Tower of London. There he met his death in 1429 as the result of a brawl with a mad priest.³

His royal mistress enjoyed a happier fate. She was, it is true, kept a prisoner for nearly three years, and all her servants and property were taken away from her.⁴ But during his last illness, Henry V regretted his treatment of his step-mother, and ordered the restoration of her freedom and her property.⁵ Moreover, her imprisonment was not by any means a burdensome one. Other attendants were appointed to replace those who had been removed,⁵ and for the first few months of her captivity she was given the variety of a certain amount of travel ; during that period she was lodged at Rotherhithe, Dartford, Rochester, and possibly other places besides.⁶ This frequent change of residence was, however, probably made to suit the convenience of the government ; for during the last two years of her imprisonment she appears to have been at Leeds Castle, in Kent, the whole of the time.⁷

A much more important and unequivocal indication of the way in which she was treated is the standard of living which she was allowed. It is here that valuable evidence is afforded by two account-books of her household during a large part of her captivity. The first (to be printed later), now in the custody of the Public Record Office, records the accounts from the 1st

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 118b.

² First to Cherbourg, thence to the King at Mantes ; from there to Château Gaillard, and eventually to the Tower (Devon, *Issues*, p. 365 ; *Brut*, ii. 423).

³ J. Amundesham, *Annales* (ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 1870), i. 38.

⁴ V. H. Galbraith, *The St. Alban's Chronicle, 1406-1420* (Oxford, 1937), p. 123 ; *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 118b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 248b.

⁶ Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ; Exch. Accts. 406/30. From the 1st October to the 15th December, 1419, she was mainly at Rotherhithe ; and from the 15th December, 1419, to the 8th March, 1420, at Pevensey, in the custody of John Pelham. Thenceforward she was at Leeds.

⁷ John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 238 (printed below) ; Phillipps MS. 3788 (see below, p. 266, note 3, and p. 268, note 1).

October, 1419, to the 15th December, 1419,¹ and the second (printed below), now in the John Rylands Library, provides, in its present state, the accounts for the period 17th March, 1420, to the 7th March, 1421.² For the last year and a half of her imprisonment there are, at present, no accounts available;³ but these two accounts cover between them a long enough period to give a fair idea of how she was treated during most of her captivity.

The first account shows that during the first three months of her imprisonment, Joan was living in great comfort. Her commissariat expenditure averaged during these eleven weeks £37 16s. 7d. a week; and since each day's expenses include an item of between twelve and sixteen shillings for the stable,

¹ Exch. Accts. 406/30.

² Rylands Latin MS. 238. Dr. Moses Tyson, in his *Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library, 1908-1928*, reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 12, No. 2, July, 1928, states on page 3 that "The valuable collection of royal account-books, comprised by Nos. 230-242, was acquired from Major Heneage of Coker Court, near Yeovil, Somerset. Two members of the Heneage family—Thomas Heneage, a vice-chamberlain of the household of Queen Elizabeth and a treasurer of the Queen's chamber, and Michael, his brother—were Keepers of the Records in the Tower."

The accounts should cover the period from the 8th March, 1420, to the 7th March, 1421 (cf. Rylands Latin MS. 238, f. 26a). Details of the commissariat expenditure, which should occupy one side of a folio for each week of the time covered by the account, are missing for the weeks beginning 10th March, 9th June, 16th June, and Friday and Saturday, 8th and 9th March, 1420. At least two folios of the MS. are therefore lacking, and probably more; for the descriptive preamble, including the *Recepta Scaccarij* (receipts from the Exchequer), and the *Recepta Forinseca* (receipts from other sources), which one would expect to find recorded at the beginning of this type of account-book (cf. Exch. Accts. 406/30), is missing from this MS.

³ The household account-book of Queen Joan for the year 8-9 Henry V was, from June, 1829, until June, 1896, in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill, Worcestershire, where it was MS. 3788 (*Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart., A.D. 1837*, p. 49). Phillipps bought it in June, 1829, at the sale of some of the MSS. of the antiquary, Craven Ord, who in turn had acquired it in 1777 at the sale of the John Ives collection. It was sold at Sotheby's on the 13th June, 1896, to 'Pintock' for £15 (Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of MSS. of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1896*, pp. 110-111; Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and MSS., 1530-1930*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 122; *Dictionary of National Biography*, articles on *John Ives* and *Craven Ord*). It has proved impossible to discover anything about the identity of 'Pintock,' or the present location of this MS.

it looks as though she was permitted to ride out a good deal. The leniency with which she was treated is even more apparent from an inspection of the list of gifts and rewards, and the expenses for wardrobe and chamber. To allow the Queen at least nineteen grooms and seven pages to wait on her would have been a curious policy if it had been really believed and proved that she had been practising witchcraft in a dangerous manner. Still more remarkable would it have been to permit her so many clothes for herself and her servants, especially as these clothes were not inexpensive garments of homespun. The materials for them included minever and other choice furs, tartarin (a rich silk stuff), silk laces, cords, and thread, sindon and Flanders linen (both fine linen fabrics), and cloth of various kinds which were all of such a price that they must have been of very good quality. And it was not only in the matter of clothes that Queen Joan was suffered to gratify her desires. Other purchases for her included chains, rosary, and girdle, all of gold; an ewer, a buckle and pendant, and table-knives, of silver-gilt;¹ and a candlestick of silver. She bought a wide variety of medicines, often of an expensive kind, doubtless prescribed by the Portuguese physician of Henry IV, Pedro de Alcobaça, who had been appointed to attend her.² This was not all; other luxuries included the repair of a harp, the laying-in of a stock of aqua vitae, and the purchase of a birdcage for her 'jay'.³ If she was allowed to retain her books, she must have had at least one or two very fine books to look at.⁴ Altogether, apart from the

¹ She also had a silver-gilt clock, which was repaired during this period.

² Devon, *Issues*, p. 362 (Mich., 7 Hen. V, 27th November); *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, pp. 391, 392, 410.

³ Probably a popinjay, or parrot. In July, 1418, she had sent a 'papegeay' as a present to her daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Brittany (Rymer, *Foedera*, ix. 603).

⁴ One of the most sumptuous MSS. in the John Rylands Library is a mid-thirteenth century Psalter (Latin MS. 22). On folio 2^v of this MS. are the words 'Royne Jahanne,' which Delisle pronounced to be undoubtedly the signature of Queen Joan (M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, Manchester, 1921, i. 67). There is some evidence that a fine fifteenth-century Book of Hours, now in the Philadelphia Free Library, belonged to Queen Joan (E. Wolf, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European MSS. in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 115).

stigma of a charge of witchcraft, and the inconveniences inherent in imprisonment, however light, Joan must have been leading a very pleasant life during this period.

The second account-book (Rylands Latin MS. 238) shows that by March, 1420, this luxurious régime had been reduced to a less expensive standard of living which continued throughout the following twelve months. The former average commissariat expenditure of £37 16s. 7d. a week had now been reduced to £11 17s. 9d., and the provision for the stable had disappeared altogether. No purchases are recorded for the wardrobe and chamber, and the 'dona' had shrunk to very small proportions—£6 10s. for a period of nearly fifty-one weeks as against £5 18s. 7d. for just under eleven.

Some of this apparently greater frugality is, however, deceptive. A fragment of a Great Wardrobe book, now in the Public Record Office (Exch. Accts. 407/4, f. 12a), a transcript of which is printed below, shows that Queen Joan was still treated in such a generous manner that she was able to bestow gifts liberally on her numerous servants, both men and women. The absence of any allowances for the stable does not necessarily mean that she was no longer permitted to ride out at all; she may have been allowed to use the horses and the carriage (if any) of her governor. She was able to buy considerable quantities of wine, of various kinds—Gascon, Rochelle, and Rhenish; and her menu was good enough for her to entertain from time to time some distinguished visitors, whose standards in gastronomy were high. The Archbishop of Canterbury came once to dinner, on the 1st April, and the Duke of Gloucester twice to supper, on the 14th April, 1420, and the 10th February, 1421. The Bishop of Winchester, one of the richest Englishmen of his day, spent a short week-end at Leeds Castle in August, 1420, from Friday, the 9th, until Sunday, the 11th.¹ Lord Camoys

¹ Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, each came again at least once during the following twelve months, when she was still at Leeds. In the margins of Queen Joan's household account-book for the year 8-9 Henry V it is recorded that on the 12th June, 1421, the Duke of Gloucester dined and departed after dinner, and on the 2nd July the Bishop of Winchester dined with her (Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.*, 1896, p. 111).

seems to have come for a much longer stay ; apparently he arrived on Friday, the 12th April, and did not leave until nine months later, on Friday, the 31st January. Even this departure was not a final one ; five days afterwards he returned, on the Wednesday afternoon, for a comparatively brief visit of eight days.¹

The standard of comfort which Joan enjoyed during the first three months of her captivity continued, then, but little reduced during 1420 and the early months of 1421. It did not end or fall thereafter ; on the contrary, for the rest of her imprisonment it seems to have risen again. The account-book for the Queen's household from 1421-1422, described above,² is not now available ; but Miss Agnes Strickland was able to inspect it, and her quotations from it are some indication of the luxuries which Joan obtained during this period. The cost of the Gascon, Rochelle, and Rhenish wines which were bought for her amounted this year to £56 0s. 4d. ; and " There are charges for seven yards of black cloth, for a gown for the queen at the feast of Easter, at 7s. 8d. per yard, and for making a gown for her, 1s. 6d. ; for one cape of black, for black silk loops, and for 400 clasps (possibly hooks and eyes) ; for 7½ yards of black cloth, at 7s. per yard, for the queen's person ; for making a cape for the queen, for black satin, and for grey squirrel fur, 23s. 4d. ; for fur for a collar and mantle for the queen, 20s. ; for 1 oz. of black thread, 1s. 6d. ; 3 dozen shoes at 6d. per pair. . . . To two serjeants-at-law to plead for the queen's gold, 6s. 8d. To Nicholas, minstrel, a gift of the queen, 6s. 8d. . . . one pot of green ginger, 9s. 6d. ;

¹ His visits are particularly interesting in view of the fact that the late Mr. T. A. Archer gave the date of his death as the 28th March, 1420, in the article on Thomas de Camoys, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He made Lord Camoys a ghost at the time he was paying these visits to Leeds Castle by misquoting Dugdale's correct statement of the date of Lord Camoys' death, 28th March, 9 Henry V, as 1422, and then refuting it in favour of 1420. That Lord Camoys died in 1421 is clear from the *Inquisitiones post mortem* 9 Henry V, no. 29, and 1 Henry VI, no. 70 (*Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem*, vol. iv, Record Commission, 1828, pp. 58, 78). For an explanation of previous errors regarding this date, see G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, revised by the Hon. Vicary Gibbs, vol. ii (London, 1912), p. 508, note (e).

² P. 266, note 3.

for rose-water, 7s. 6d. ; to master Laurence, for cinnamon, 7s. 10d.”¹

In the matter of food, fodder, and fuel the Queen received increased privileges. On the 16th November, 1421, the royal council issued a “commission during pleasure to Thomas Lilbourne, clerk, Peter Thorpe, Richard Capell, John Warene, William Doget, and Walus Wales, to take wheat, barley, beans, peas, oats, wine, ale, cows, calves, sheep, lambs, pigs, little pigs, capons, hens, poults, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, coneys, salt and fresh fish and other victuals, and hay, litter, coals, firewood, rushes, and other necessities for the household of the King’s mother, Joan, queen of England, and carriage for the same”.² This grant was not merely a device on the part of the government to abuse the right of purveyance in order

¹ Strickland, *op. cit.*, ii. 99-100. Miss Strickland seems to have assumed that the household-book from which she quotes records the accounts of the Queen’s household until the 14th July, 1 Henry VI (1423) ; and on that basis she observed that Joan’s clerk, Thomas Lilbourne, “proceeds to note the expenses of her mourning dress for the death of her persecutor [Henry V]”. The household book from which she quotes is, however, undoubtedly the same as that listed in the 1896 Sotheby catalogue of Phillipps MSS., on pp. 110-111, and there described as the account-book for Joan’s household for the year 8-9 Henry V. Both Miss Strickland and the Sotheby catalogue’s description of Phillipps MS. 3788 quote the Duke of Gloucester as dining with Queen Joan on the 12th June, and the Bishop of Winchester on the 2nd July, and cite a payment to the serjeants-at-law for pleading for the return of the Queen’s dower ; in any case Sir Thomas Phillipps is not known to have ever possessed more than one of Queen Joan’s household account-books. That this account-book did not cover any period later than the death of Henry V is clear from two entries on the King’s Remembrancer’s Memoranda Roll for the year 3 Henry VI (Mich., m. 11, m. 4d). Two writs under the privy seal directed to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer record how the King had granted to Thomas Lilbourne, lately assigned as clerk of the expenses of the household of Queen Joan, two letters of account under the privy seal, both dated the 14th July, 1 Henry VI, to enable him to render at the Exchequer two accounts for Queen Joan’s household, one for the year the 8th March, 8 Henry V, to the 7th March, 9 Henry V, the other for the period the 8th March, 9 Henry V, to the 1st July, 10 Henry V. The Phillipps MS. may have contained both accounts bound up in one volume ; but in any case, the expenses for mourning clothes, quoted by Miss Strickland, could not have been occasioned by the death of Henry V. Perhaps they were due to the death on the 28th March, 1421, of Lord Camoys, evidently such a close friend of Joan’s that he had stayed at Leeds Castle for nine months so recently (*supra*, p. 269).

² C.P.R., 1416-1422, p. 402.

to save a corresponding financial grant from the Exchequer. Not only were large sums granted from time to time in 1421 and 1422—for example, £106 13s. 4d. on the 15th July, 1422, to buy horses for her 'chaise,'¹ but the total amount allowed was greater. For the board and maintenance of Joan herself, Thomas Lilbourne, the clerk of her household, drew some £1,300 from the Exchequer from Henry's last departure to France in June, 1421, to his death on the 31st August, 1422,² an average of just over £19 5s. a week. The total expenditure for the Queen's household from the 17th March, 1420, to the 7th March, 1421, was only £666 0s. 0½d., which averages out at just over £13 1s. a week.³

The impression one gets from these household accounts is that a degree of consideration unusual in the case of a person charged with treason by means of witchcraft was shown towards Joan throughout her imprisonment; and this is in harmony with the other facts known of her captivity. There is no suggestion anywhere that she was ever tried for her reputed witchcraft, or even that any further investigations were made after the first alarm in September and October, 1419; and from the letter which Henry V issued during his last illness, ordering the restoration of her freedom and her dowry, it is plain that he regretted by that time the action taken against her in 1419.⁴ For the rest of her life no stigma nor disadvantage seems to

¹ J. H. Wylie and W. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, vol. iii (Cambridge, 1929), p. 394, note 6, citing the Issue Roll 10 Henry V, 15th July, 1422. (I greatly regret that owing to the war many classes of documents, including the Receipt and Issue Rolls, are inaccessible, and it has therefore been impossible for me to consult them.) This grant for the purchase of horses must have been a result of Henry V's order for her release, made on 13th July: " . . . And be cause we suppose she wol son remoeve from the plas where she is nowe, that ye ordeine hir also Horses for ij Chares. . . ." (*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 248b.)

² Wylie and Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

³ If Waugh meant by "the board and maintenance of Joan herself," the receipts for the commissariat alone, the contrast would be still greater. For a true comparison the total amount of receipts for the year 7-8 Henry V should, of course, have been given, and not the total expenditure; but, as explained above (p. 266, note 2), the record of all receipts is missing from this MS.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 248b. " . . . We doubtyng lest hit shuld be a charge unto oure conscience, for to occupie forth lenger the said Douair in this wise, the whiche charge we be avised no longer to ber in our conscience. . . ."

have remained upon her on account of the accusations against her in 1419, although she seems never to have been formally acquitted of those charges. She had a little difficulty in recovering her dower, in spite of Henry V's command; but that was merely because so much of it had been granted away to other persons,¹ and she was eventually compensated fully by other royal grants for these unobtainable revenues formerly part of her dowry.² Henceforward, she led a very easy and peaceful existence. Her grandson, Gilles de Bretagne, became a great friend of Henry VI during his stay in England from 1432 to 1434; it is likely that in consequence Joan was viewed with favour by the young King, who certainly treated her with respect and consideration. He gave her, for example, a valuable New Year's gift in 1437, consisting of a tablet of gold, garnished with four balas-rubies, eight pearls, and in the midst a great sapphire.³ When she died in the July of the same year at Havering-atte-Bower,⁴ he saw to it that she was buried with all honour by the side of her second husband, in St. Thomas à Becket's chapel behind the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral.⁵

These are remarkable facts in view of the gravity of the charge on which she was imprisoned in 1419. The case against Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, in 1441, began in a very similar way—the arrest and examination on a charge of sorcery of a clerk in her household (Roger Bolingbroke), who then accused his mistress of plotting against the King's life; but there the similarity ends. Eleanor was not only brought

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 248b-249a.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1422-1429*, pp. 19, 22-24, 95, 224, 308, 363-366.

³ *Proceedings [and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England]*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, v. 61.

⁴ *Chronicon Anglie*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1848), Pars Quarta, p. 17, and R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France* (ed. H. Ellis, London, 1811), p. 611, give the date as the 2nd July; *A Chronicle of London, 1089-1483*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, p. 123, has the 9th July. For her death at Havering-atte-Bower, see W. Gregory, *Chronicle*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876), p. 180.

⁵ On the 11th August she was given a State funeral to which the King summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Norwich and Rochester, the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, the Abbots of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Battle, Faversham, and the Prior of Rochester, and the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Earls and Countesses of Huntingdon, Northumberland, and Oxford, and Lords Fanhope and Poynings (*Nicolas, Proceedings*, v. 56).

speedily to trial, but convicted of treasonable sorcery, and condemned to perform in the fullest publicity a humiliating penance. Not only that, but she was imprisoned for life, with an allowance for her maintenance far smaller than that which the captive Joanna had enjoyed.¹ And her reputed fellow-criminals did not escape with mere imprisonment, as Friar Randolph had done. Roger Bolingbroke was executed with the full rigours of a traitor's death; and Margery Jourdain, the Witch of Eye, with whom the Duchess confessed to having dealings, was burnt at the stake. Thomas Southwell, another cleric implicated in the affair, escaped the fate of Bolingbroke only by a timely and merciful death in prison.² Evidently, high rank was not necessarily any protection against a charge of sorcery, for either the chief prisoner or the humbler folk implicated in the affair; for in 1441 Eleanor Cobham was the first lady in the land. The leniency of the treatment which Queen Joan received, and her eventual restoration to complete favour, are convincing signs that the charge of sorcery against her cannot have been taken very seriously by the government. Why, then, was she arrested and kept a prisoner for nearly three years?

At the outset, the charges against her may very well have been widely believed. At the time of her arrest there were so many rumours of attempts on the King's life by witchcraft that on the 25th September, 1419, Archbishop Chichele issued

¹ Eleanor was sent first to Chester, then to Kenilworth (October, 1443), and eventually (July, 1446) to the Isle of Man, a far less pleasant place to that generation than the South-East of England, where Queen Joan had been imprisoned (Henry Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, 2nd Series, London, 1827, i. 107; Rymer, *Foedera*, xi. 45; Nicolas, *Proceedings*, vi. 51). According to a writ of the 15th May, 1444 (Devon, *Issues*, pp. 447-448), Eleanor received for daily support 100 marks yearly, and was allowed twelve persons in attendance, whose total wages per annum amounted to £115 11s. 8d. These two sums together amount to only £182 5s.

² *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies (Cam. Soc., 1856), p. 57; Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 183; J. Stow, *Annales* (London, 1631), p. 381; Rymer, *Foedera*, x. 851; William of Worcester, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, in vol. ii of the *Libri Nigri Scaccarii* (ed. T. Hearne, 1728), p. 460. For a modern narrative of the affair, and an examination of the contacts between Friar Randolph and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, see Kenneth Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), pp. 269-280, especially p. 276.

a letter to all his bishops, stating that the King had ordered prayers to be said for his protection, especially against the supernatural machinations of necromancers¹ who were reported to have been working of late for his destruction. Shortly afterwards, on the 8th and 9th November, Convocation had before it a chaplain named Richard Walker, who was accused and found guilty of practising sorcery in the diocese of Worcester.² To minds already feverish with rumours of witchcraft, it would seem not at all impossible that even a Queen-mother previously on good terms with the King might have plotted against his life by the use of witchcraft (particularly if they remembered the evil reputation for sorcery of her father, Charles the Bad, King of Navarre).³ This would appear the more likely if, as some have thought, she or her attendants had been corresponding too freely with her son, the Duke of Brittany.⁴ Certainly, the commons had presented in parliament in 1415 a petition, which the King had accepted, praying for the expulsion of all Bretons, both within the Queen's household and without, from the realm, as a statute of 7 Henry IV had ordered, on the grounds that these Bretons made it their aim to find out the secrets of the realm, and reveal them to their compatriots, "qe sount les greindres enemyes de vostre Roialme", and also to carry money and jewels out of the country, to the prejudice of the King and the damage of the whole land.⁵ There was a long-standing enmity between the seamen of England and Brittany and this was liable to kindle periodical outbursts of national resentment against Queen Joan and her Breton children, servants, and connexions, from 1404 (only a year after her marriage to Henry IV), until at least 1426.⁶

These are sufficient reasons to account for the Queen's arrest; they are inadequate to explain why she was not released

¹ *Conc[ilia Magnae Britanniae]*, ed. D. Wilkins (London, 1737), iii. 392-393, 'superstitiosis necromanticorum operationibus'.

² *Conc.*, iii. 393-394.

³ L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. iii (New York, 1934), p. 588.

⁴ E.g., C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V* (London, 1901), p. 328.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 79b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 527b-528a; iv. 79b, 306b.

by the summer of 1420, when there had been enough time to investigate and disprove the charges of sorcery and necromancy, and the Treaty of Troyes had for a while allayed Anglo-Breton enmity. There are firm grounds for supposing that the compelling motive for keeping her a prisoner two years more was a financial one, a motive which may, indeed, have weighed with the government in making her arrest. From the renewal of the war with France in 1415, parliaments had voted supplies with unusual generosity; but by 1420 the drain on the exchequer was becoming formidable,¹ and the government may have feared the outbreak of popular murmurings, of which Adam of Usk speaks in 1421,² if the burden of taxation were increased any further at that moment. To deprive Queen Joan of her dowry of 10,000 marks a year would be an important addition to the resources of a badly insolvent government, whose regular income amounted at this time to only just under £56,000 a year.³ Joan's dowry had always been a heavy burden on the royal finances, which in the Lancastrian period were in a state of chronic deficit. By July, 1404, little more than a year after

¹ Cf. R. A. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 143-151; A. B. Steel, "Receipt Rolls Totals under Henry IV and Henry V," in the *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]*, vol. xlvii (1932), pp. 214-215.

² *Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377-1421*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (London, 1904), p. 133.

³ Many attempts have been made, notably by the late Sir J. H. Ramsay, to compute the total annual revenue and expenditure of the mediæval English kings; but Mr. Anthony Steel has pointed out very clearly the numerous pitfalls in the path of anyone rash enough to try. (See his article quoted above, note 1; also "English Government Finance, 1377-1413," in *E.H.R.*, vol. li (1936), pp. 29-51, 577-597, and "The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1413-1432," in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. vi, No. 1 (1938), pp. 33-54.) But fortunately there is no need to essay such a hazardous course here, for in May, 1421, the Treasurer of England presented to the King's Council a statement on the deplorable condition of the royal finances. According to this, over £52,000 of the total income of nearly £56,000 was already assigned to the defence of England, Calais, Ireland, and the March of Scotland, and various salaries, wages, and pensions, leaving only £3,500 to pay for a wide variety of charges, ranging from the royal household, royal embassies, artillery, and other munitions of war, to the building of a new tower at Portsmouth, the wages of the clerk of the King's ships, and the custody of the King's lions. Besides these, there were a number of old debts and arrears for which the Treasurer could not even attempt to make any provision (Nicolas, *Proceedings*, ii. 312-315).

her marriage to Henry IV, her dowry had fallen into arrears, to the extent of nearly £5,000 ;¹ and this seems to have been not the last time that her dowry was not paid up to date.² For the year March, 1420, to March, 1421, Joan's board and maintenance cost the government only about £700 ; and even during the year following, when the allowance was on a more generous scale, the government had to find only just over £1,000 for her keep.³ A net addition to the exchequer of nearly £6,000 must have been a godsend to the exchequer, which from 1420 onwards had to find considerable sums towards Queen Catherine's dowry of 10,000 marks.⁴ The exchequer must have viewed with great regret the restoration in full of Queen Joan's dowry in 1423.

If financial considerations were a more powerful motive for keeping Joan in captivity for three years than a continued belief in her guiltiness, it would explain the absence of any trial or formal investigation. If a trial should acquit her as guiltless, there would no longer be any justification for the continuance of her imprisonment and the retention of her property. If, on the other hand, it should result in a condemnation, she would have borne henceforth the stigma of being officially pronounced a witch, and might have had to perform a penance as humiliating as that which Eleanor Cobham later had to undergo. Henry would wish to spare her both of these. If, however, no trial were held, all these difficulties would be avoided, and the original charges against her would be a sufficient pretext for keeping her in captivity—a very lenient and comfortable captivity—while the government made use of her dowry. Several times during this century English statesmen would turn to account for political purposes accusations of sorcery, which many people genuinely believed ; the charges against St. Joan in 1431, against Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, ten years later, against the

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1401-1405, pp. 402, 405 ; *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 532b, 533a.

² *Vide ibid.*, 577a, 634b, 658b ; *C.P.R.*, 1413-1416, p. 341.

³ *Supra*, p. 271.

⁴ As agreed by the Treaty of Troyes, the 9th April, 1420 (*Rymer, Foedera* ix. 878).

Duke of Clarence in 1477 are cases in point. Such a device seems the most likely solution of the mystery of Queen Joan's imprisonment, three years long, as a royal witch.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY LATIN MS. 238. *Account-book of the household (in the form of a diary) of Joan of Navarre (widow of Henry IV) at Leeds Castle (Kent) from Sunday, the 17th of March, 1420, to Friday, the 7th of March, 1421.*¹

Vellum, ff. 28. 370 × 263 mm. 1420-1421.

- f. 1a Die Dominica xvij die Marcij apud Ledys. Dispensaria ijs iiijd, Butilleria xs ix d ob, Garderoba vjs viij d ob, Coquina xixs iiij d ob, Pulletria xvjd, Scutilleria iiij d, Salsaria ijd ob, Aula xjd, Vadia vs iiij d.² Summa xlvjs iiij d.
- Die Lune xvij die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria xxd ob, Butilleria viijs xd ob, Garderoba iijs iiij d, Coquina xs ix d, Pulletria xiij d ob, Scutilleria jd ob, Salsaria ijd, Aula et camera ix d, Vadia iijs xjd ob, Summa xxxjs viij d ob.
- Die Martis xix die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria ijs iiij d, Butilleria viijs vjd, Garderoba iijs ob, Coquina xijs vd ob, Pulletria xiiij d, Scutilleria iiij d ob, Salsaria ijd ob, Aula et camera xjd ob, Vadia vs xjd. Summa xxxiijs xd ob.
- Die Mercurij xx die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria xviiij d, Butilleria vijs xd, Garderoba iijs ijd ob, Coquina xjs vjd, Pulletria xvjd ob, Scutilleria iiij d ob, Salsaria ijd ob, Aula xjd, Vadia iijs xjd ob. Summa xxxijs ix d ob.
- Die Jouis xxj die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria ijs iiij d, Butilleria xs iiij d ob, Garderoba vs viij d ob, Coquina xijs iiij d, Pulletria xiiij d, Scutilleria iiij d ob, Salsaria iiij d, Aula etc. xjd, Vadia iijs ix d ob. Summa xxxixs.
- Die Veneris xxij die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria xviiij d, Butilleria vijs iiij d ob, Garderoba vs viij d ob, Coquina ixs xd, Pulletria xjd, Scutilleria iiij d, Salsaria iiij d, Aula xiij d ob, Vadia iijs viij d ob. Summa xxxjs viij d.

¹ I wish to express my warm thanks to Dr. Guppy for permitting me to transcribe this MS., and to Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of the Western MSS. in the John Rylands Library, for the valuable assistance which he has generously given in the editing of this document and the writing of the accompanying article.

² These offices are those of the steward, the buttery, the wardrobe, the kitchen, the poultry, the scullery, the saucery, the hall, and the wages respectively.

For a brief description of the relation of some of these offices to one another at a later date, see A. P. Newton, "Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household," in *Tudor Studies presented to A. F. Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson, (London, 1924), pp. 254-255; and for a fuller analysis of these relationships at an earlier date, see J. H. Johnson, "The King's Wardrobe and Household," in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ed. J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris, vol. i (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), pp. 206-248.

Die Sabbati xxiiij die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria xviiij, Butilleria
vjs vijd ob, Garderoba iiijs vijd ob, Coquina vijs xjd, Pulletria
viijd ob, Scutilleria vd, Salsaria ijd, Aula xd ob, Vadia iiijs iiijd.

Summa xxvijs iijd.

Probatur. Summa istius septimane—xijli iiijs vjd ob.

ff. 1b to 24b inclusive are identical with f. 1a in form. To each week of commissariat expenditure is allocated one side of a folio. The expenses of the above nine domestic offices are recorded day by day, with the day's total in the right-hand margin, and the week's total at the bottom of the folio. Under the week's total is noted, every four weeks, the total expenditure of the preceding lunar month; both weekly and monthly totals are usually prefaced by the auditor's note of approval, 'probatur'. The following is a list of these weekly and monthly totals:—

Week beginning March 24th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 12 1
Total for the first month, ¹	.	.	.	.	.	.	£42 6 11½
Week beginning March 31st	.	.	.	.	.	.	£13 10 9
„ „ April 7th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£13 17 0½
„ „ „ 14th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£15 5 7
„ „ „ 21st	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 8 4½
Total for the second month	.	.	.	.	.	.	£54 1 9
Week beginning April 28th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£10 7 4
„ „ May 5th.	.	.	.	.	.	.	£10 11 7
„ „ „ 12th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£10 4 1½
„ „ „ 19th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£10 17 7
Total for the third month	.	.	.	.	.	.	£42 0 7½
Week beginning May 26th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£12 4 11
„ „ June 2nd	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 17 2
„ „ „ 23rd ¹	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 2 6½
„ „ „ 30th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£ 9 19 6
„ „ July 7th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£10 17 5½
„ „ „ 14th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£12 5 1
Total for the fifth month	.	.	.	.	.	.	£44 4 7
Week beginning July 21st	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 5 9
„ „ „ 28th	.	.	.	.	.	.	£11 11 4½

¹ Cf. note 2 on page 266. The accounts for the two days, Friday and Saturday, 8th and 9th March, and the week commencing 10th March, must have been on the same sheet of parchment as the accounts for the weeks commencing 9th and 16th June. The March accounts would occupy the recto and verso of the first folio; the two latter accounts would be on the recto and verso of the eighth folio. The accounts for these three weeks (10th-16th March, 9th-15th, 16th-22nd June) and two days (8th and 9th March) were therefore written on the outermost sheet of the first quire.

THE CAPTIVITY OF A ROYAL WITCH 279

Week beginning August 4th	£10 19 0½
" " " 11th	£11 15 0½
Total for the sixth month	£45 11 2½
Week beginning August 18th	£ 9 13 10½
" " " 25th	£ 9 17 3½
" " September 1st	£10 5 9
" " " 8th	£10 11 10½
Total for the seventh month	£40 8 9½
Week beginning September 15th	£11 11 1
" " " 22nd	£12 3 3
" " " 29th	£12 19 11½
" " October 6th	£12 3 0
Total for the eighth month	£48 17 3½
Week beginning October 13th	£10 14 6
" " " 20th	£10 9 3½
" " " 27th	£11 8 7½
" " November 3rd	£10 7 10
Total for the ninth month	£43 0 3
Week beginning November 10th	£10 8 10
" " " 17th	£10 14 4½
" " " 24th	£11 3 4½
" " December 1st	£10 19 11½
Total for the tenth month	£43 6 6½
Week beginning December 8th	£11 1 2½
" " " 15th	£11 3 6
" " " 22nd	£20 10 7½
" " " 29th	£18 6 1
Total for the eleventh month	£61 1 5
Week beginning January 5th	£16 0 11½
" " " 12th	£11 17 9
" " " 19th	£11 15 5
" " " 26th	£12 14 4½
Total for the twelfth month	£52 8 6
Week beginning February 2nd	£14 1 3
" " " 9th	£11 2 6
" " " 16th	£ 8 16 4½
" " " 23rd	£ 8 7 10
Total for the thirteenth month	£42 7 11½

In the left-hand margin are noted, against the appropriate day, the visits of important people. These entries are as follows :—

- f. 2a [Monday, April 1st]. Isto die venit Ercehepiscopus Cantuariensis cum priuatis famularibus suis ad prandium, et recessit eodem die post prandium.
- f. 2b [Friday, April 12th]. Isto die venit Dominus Camoyse post prandium.
- f. 3a [Sunday, April 14th]. Isto die venit Dux Gloucestrie cum priuatis famularibus suis post prandium, et recessit eodem die post cenam.
- f. 10a [Friday, August 9th]. Isto die venit Episcopus Wyntoniensis cum priuatis famularibus suis post prandium.
- f. 10b [Sunday, August 11th]. Isto die recessit Episcopus Wyntoniensis cum priuatis famularibus suis post prandium.
- f. 22b [Friday, January 31st]. Isto die recessit Dominus Camoyse post prandium.
- f. 23a [Wednesday, February 5th]. Isto die venit Dominus Camoyse ad prandium.
- f. 23b [Monday, February 10th]. Isto die venit Dux Gloucestrie post prandium et recessit eodem die post cenam.
- f. 23b [Thursday, February 13th]. Isto die recessit Dominus Camoyse post prandium.

Note is also made in the left-hand margin, against the appropriate day, of the principal feasts of the year. The feasts recorded are those of Easter Sunday (April 7th this year, A.D. 1420), Whitsunday (26th May), All Hallows, Christmas Day, the Circumcision, Epiphany, and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Each day the residence of the Queen is stated, and from this it appears that throughout the whole period covered by this account she remained at Leeds Castle, in Kent.

- f. 25a Die Dominica secundo die Marcij apud Ledys. Dispensaria ijs xjd ob, Butilleria viijs vjd ob, Garderoba iijs, Coquina ixs vjd ob, Pulletria xjd, Scutilleria vjd, Salsaria vjd, Aula ijs ijd, Vadia iijs ijd.
- Summa xxxijs vd ob.
- Die Lune tercio die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria xxijd, Butilleria vjs vjd, Garderoba ijs vjd ob, Coquina vijs iiijd, Pulletria viijd, Scutilleria iiijd ob, Salsaria iijd ob, Aula xxjd ob, Vadia vs. Summa xxvjs iiijd.
- Die Martis quarto die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria ijs ixd, Butilleria viijs ob, Garderoba iijs viijd, Coquina ixs xjd ob, Pulletria xjd ob, Scutilleria vjd, Salsaria iiijd, Aula xxd ob, Vadia iijs. Summa xxxjs xjd.
- Die Mercurij quinto die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria vs ijd, Butilleria vjs vjd ob, Garderoba iijs vd, Coquina ixs ijd ob, Pulletria xvd ob, Scutilleria iiijd ob, Salsaria iiijd ob, Aula xxjd, Vadia iijs iiijd.
- Summa xxxijs vd ob.
- Die Jouis sexto die Marcij ibidem. Dispensaria ijs ixd, Butilleria viijs ijd ob, Garderoba iijs ixd, Coquina xs, Pulletria xiijd, Scutilleria vjd ob, Salsaria iijd, Aula et camera ijs, Vadia iijs. Summa xxxijs vjd.

Die Veneris septimo die Marcij a^o viij^o. Dispensaria xxijd, Butilleria
vjs iij d ob, Garderoba iijs jd ob, Coquina vjs viij d ob, Pulletria viij d,
Scutilleria iiij d ob, Salsaria ijd ob, Aula xxd ob, Vadia vs. Summa xxvijs xjd.

Probatur. Summa istius septimane ————— ixli ijs viij d. ixli ijs viij d.
Probatur. Summa totalis xiiij mensium et }
vj dierum } Dcxvijli vjs viij d.

25b

Oblaciones.

In oblacione Domine Johanne Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia sua in capella infra castrum de Ledys Regis in die Natalis Domini, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione Domine Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia ipsius Regine in eadem capella ibidem in festo Purificationis Beate Marie, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione dicte Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia sua infra Castrum predictum in festo Omnium Sanctorum, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione domine Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia ipsius Regine infra capellam de Ledys in die sancto Pasche, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione dicte Domine Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia sua infra idem castrum in capella ibidem in die Pentecoste, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione Domine Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia dicte Regine infra castrum de Ledys in die Sancte Trinitatis, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione ipsius Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia ipsius Regine infra castrum predictae in festo Assumpcionis Beate Marie, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione Domine Regine ad missam principalem celebratam in presencia sua ibidem infra castrum predictum in die Epiphanie Domini, *vjs viij d*. In oblacione Domine Regine ad missam celebratam in presencia ipsius Regine in capella infra castrum predictum in festo Natalis Beate Marie, *vjs viij d*.

Probatur. Summa istius pagine ————— lxvjs viij d. ~~lxvjs viij d~~

26a

Necessaria.

per breve de priuato sigillo suo datum xxvij^{mo} die Octobris anno tercio Regis Henrici vj^{ti}.² { Thome Lilbourne, clerico expensarum hospicii Domine Johanne Regine, pro vadiis suis extra curiam prosequendo penes Concilium Domini Regis et alibi pro diuersis negociis hospicii eiusdem Domine Regine tangentibus expediendis, per lxxij dies ad ijs per diem, *vij li vis* [per quod tempus non cepit vadia diurna infra hospiciu Regine].¹

Diuersis clericis scribentibus hunc compotum ac alia necessaria et memoranda eundem compotum tangentia, de regardis eisdem factis, *xls*. In precio xxxvj

¹ Inserted in the original above the line, with a caret mark.

² See K.R. Memoranda Roll, 3 Henry VI, Mich., m. 11 (Brevia directa Baronibus).

sextariorum [et] dimidij picherij vini Vasconiensis, Rochelliensis et Reniensis expendorum in oillagio¹ et corisona,² xij dolium xlj sextariorum [et] dimidij picherij vini Vasconiensis, Rochelliensis et Reniensis per pincernam Regine recepti de empcone inter viij diem Marcij anno domini Regis nunc septimo et septimum diem Marcij proximo sequenti anno domini eiusdem Regis anni predicti, dolia per medium ad vj li et sextaria ad ijs iiijd, *iiijli iiijjs iiijd ob.* Pro bermanagio,³ cariagio,⁴ shoutagio⁵ batillagio,⁶ cranagio,⁷ frectagio,⁸ rimagio,⁹ grindagio,¹⁰ celeragio,¹¹ couperagio,¹² vadio pincerne¹³ ac alijs custagijs¹⁴ factis circa vinum domine Regine infra tempus huius compoti, *liiijjs viiij ob.*

Probatur. Summa istius Pagine—xvjli vs.

xvli vs (sic)

f. 26b

Dona.

Henrico Rigby, Willelmo Eglestone, Willelmo Herynge, Johanni Pykebonne, et Johanni Iver, garcionibus camere,¹⁵ ac diuersis officialibus hospicii Domine Johanne Regine, cuilibet [sic] eorum pro regardis suis per vnum annum integrum xxs, de dono ipsius Regine infra tempus huius compoti, cs. Willelmo Newman, Thome Hautonn [or Hantonn], Willelmo Tringelherst, pagettis camere¹⁶

¹ ullage, the amount of wine or liquor by which a cask or bottle fell short of being quite full, or the quantity required to make good the loss by leakage or absorption.

² leakage. See *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss (Rolls Series, No. 55), i. 100 and 101, n. 2, and *The Oak Book of Southampton*, ed. P. Studer (Southampton Record Soc.), ii. 71, n. 28.

³ fees for wine-porterage.

⁴ carrying-service, or toll on carts.

⁵ toll for the use of a shout or barge.

⁶ fee for boat-hire. See T. Wright, *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*, i. 175. Batelle = boat or barge.

⁷ In the *Oak Book of Southampton*, ed. P. Studer, the English form 'cranage', means "duty paid for the use of the town crane". Cranage is the fee for hoisting.

⁸ freightage.

⁹ stowage, fare. See *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, pp. 25, n. 2, pp. 112, 113, n. 3; and *The Oak Book of Southampton*, ed. P. Studer, ii. 86, n. 12 (where the spellings 'rymage', 'remage', and 'remmaige' occur), and p. 87, n. 19.

¹⁰ ? 'gindage' or 'gyndage', meaning 'hoisting', 'hoisting-money'. See *The Oak Book of Southampton*, ed. P. Studer, ii. 70 and 78, notes 15 and 22 (where 'gunyn-', 'guyn-', 'guin-dage' are cited. If grindage is an error, it could easily be a misreading of the last of these forms). In the text (*ibid.*, p. 70), 'gin-' and 'gyndage' occur.

¹¹ cellarage, fee for storing in a cellar.

¹² fees for cooper's work. A 'cooper' can mean 'one engaged in the trade of sampling and bottling wine'.

¹³ butler's wages.

¹⁴ costagia, costs, expenses.

¹⁵ grooms of the chamber.

¹⁶ pages of the chamber.

Regine, ac aliis officialibus hospicii, cuilibet eorum xs, de regardis eisdem factis de dono dicte Regine per idem tempus, xxxs.

Probatur. Summa istius Pagine—vjli xs.

vjli xs.

f. 27, a and b is quite blank.

f. 28a

Prestita et remanencia.

In precio diuersorum victualium remanentium in diuersis officinis hospicii Domine Johanne Regine post septimum diem Marcij anno domini nostri Regis Henrici quinti octauo, de quibus Thomas Lilbourne, clericus expensarum dicti hospicii, onerabitur in compoto suo proximo sequenti, videlicet, in precio ij quarteriorum iiij bussellorum frumenti remanentis in officina pistrine¹ et panetrie post dictum septimum diem Marcij, quarteria per medium ad vs et busselli ad vij ob, *xijs vjd*. In precio ij doliorum vini Vasconiensis, dolium ad vjli et sextaria ad ijs iiijd, remanentis in officina butillerie post dictum septimum diem Marcij, *xijli*. In precio iij sextariorum xlvij gallinorum ceruise² ad jd ob, aueriis³ deductis, remanentis in eodem officina post dictum diem Marcij, *xls vjd*. In precio cere, mapparie, tele, linee, et aliarum specierum remanentium in officina spicarie et candelarie⁴ post dictum vij diem Marcij, *xlijs iiijd ob*. In precio diuersorum victualium remanentium in officinis coquine et lardarie post dictum diem Marcij, *cijs viijd*. In precio diuersorum victualium remanentium in officina pulletrie post dictum septimum diem Marcij, *ijs iiijd*. In precio viij quarteriorum carbonum ad vjd remanentium in officina scutillerie post dictum

diem Marcij, ^{iiij}~~iiij~~^s~~iiij~~. In precio diuersorum victualium remanentium in officina salsarie post dictum septimum diem Marcij, *ijs jd ob*. In precio bosce remanentis in officina aule post dictum diem Marcij, *iiij* ~~iiij~~ *ob*.

Probatur. Summa istius Pagine—xxijli xjs ix ob.

~~xxijli xjs ix ob~~

Summa totalis expensarum huius libri, }
coniuncta cum prestita et remanentia. }

Dclxvjli ob.

f. 28b

Probatur. Summa totalis expensarum huius }
libri, cum prestita et remanentia. }

Dclxvjli ob.

Et sic habet superplusagium—lxvjli iij*s* iiijd ob.
xlvijli xiijs vd ob.

¹ bakehouse.

² ale.

³ ? carriage.

⁴ The office of the spicery received wax, napery, linen, cloth, canvas, and spicery from the royal great wardrobe, and distributed them to the various household offices. The chandlery formed part of the office of the spicery.

EXCHEQUER ACCOUNTS (E101)407/4. 9 Henry V. *Part of an Account-book of the King's Great Wardrobe.*

f. 12a

Domine Johanne, Regine Anglie, ad j gounne longa facta de vij vlnis dilecti panni¹ nigri, facta et furrata cum veste² de martrixo,³ ac domine Margarete Trumpyngton, Isabelle Thorley, Agnete Thorley, et Katerine Wharton, domicellis, assignatione Regine predicte, ad vesturos suos faciendos et furrendos, videlicet, dicte domine Margarete vj vlne panni colorati longi et j furra de cc ventris meneveri⁴ purati, dicte Isabelle v vlne panni colorati longi consuti et j furra de bysa⁵ de vij tiris,⁶ ac prefate Agnete et Katerine, videlicet, dicte Agnete vj vlne panni consuti longi et dicte Katerine v vlne panni consuti, ac vtrique earum ij furre de popull' necnon ad furr colar et ante ad manus dicte j goun pro eisdem Agneta et Katerina, cum lxxj ventris meneueri purati et ad incrementum manicarum dicte gounne pro dicta Agneta, furrata cum xvj timbris⁷ demj meneuere grosse,⁴ et ad furrandas manicas dicte gounne pro dicta Katerina, furrata cum pellis agnellis albis. Thome Lylborne, Johanni Islepe, et Willelmo Doget, clericis, assignatione dicte Regine, ad vesturas suas faciendas, cuilibet eorum v vlne panni colorati curti, ac Thome Thorley, Johanni Haywarde, Henrico Egmondton, et Petro Thorp, scutellariis, dicte Regine assignatione, cuilibet eorum iij vlne dilecti panni radiati et ij vlne dimidia panni colorati curti. Willelmo Crofton, Johanni Osborn, Henrico Tyndale, Johanni Goswell, Johanni Cooke, Willelmo Nesynge, Willelmo Roger, Henrico Kelyngworth, Ricardo Britton, Willelmo Wallys, Johanni Iver, Willelmo Orgraue, et Ricardo Capelle, valettis,⁹ dicte domine Regine assignatione, cuilibet eorum, ad construendas vesturas suas, ij vlne dilecti panni colorati curti et iij vlne dilecti panni radiati; et Johanni Euerdon, et Juliane Lauender, valettis, vtrique eorum iiij vlne panni coloris curti consuti; et Willelmo Egleston, Johanni Willoughby, Henrico Ryggeby, Ricardo Chesthunt, Johanni Pikebon, Thome Clay, et Willelmo Herynge, garcionibus, dicte domine Regine assignatione, cuilibet eorum ij vlne panni colorati curti et iij vlne panni radiati, per litteram de priuato sigillo dicto custodii inde directam, et sicut in vna sedula dicto warranto annexata extat contenta, data xij^o die eiusdem mensis Decembris anno viij^{uo} et super hunc compotum liberata.

xxix vlne demi
panni colorati longi.
iij panni xv vlne
demi panni colorati
curti.
iij panni xx vlne
demi panni radiati.⁸
xx
ciiij veste de
martrons.
l furra de
cc ventris } mineveri
et lxxj } purati.
ventris }
xvj timbrie demi
mineveri grossi.
j de vij tiris, fur de
bys.
iiij fure de popull'.

¹ cloth.² material.³ marten-fur.⁴ "Minever pured" is the white belly fur with the grey removed; "minever great," the belly fur with the grey sides untrimmed.⁵ doe-skin.⁶ tiers, used of the lines of skins in a fur-cloak.⁷ bundles of fur.⁸ striped.⁹ yeomen.

EARLY NAVIGATION : ITS EXTENT AND IMPORTANCE.

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IT is perhaps not unnatural that our thoughts at this grave moment in our national history are often directed to the ocean and its pathways. Whilst we recognise in our grim struggle the value of the ocean as separator of shores, we also acclaim it as uniter, since over its waters pass to us the natural produce and industrial products of so many lands. Man's battle for conquest of the sea has endured for long ages and continued over vast spaces of the earth's surface. By conquest of the sea we do not mean here armed supremacy over the ships that sail upon it, but the unending effort to make use of it for man's purposes, to navigate its waters at will and hence in course of time to ensure and secure for it a proud position as the greatest factor in the development and spread of civilisation.

Civilisation has never spread its cloak over all parts of the earth equally. In the same period of time man may be found smelting iron in one place whilst in another he is still chipping flint. Civilisation is largely, if not wholly, dependent for its vitality on the interchange of ideas consequent on the intercourse of peoples. Inbreeding of ideas spells stagnation, inaction and decay. Only where the peoples of the earth have had facilities for free intercourse has civilisation markedly developed. The greater the interchange of ideas and the wider the circle of peoples involved the more fruitful the results. It is doubtless true that some races appear to be more gifted than others, and it is an obvious fact that all races have not contributed equally to civilisation's advancement, yet it will be found invariably the case that those peoples which have reached high cultural levels

have been more favourably situated geographically than their less successful brethren. They have had their habitations almost invariably at the crossroads of the world's great highways where their stocks of ideas have been capable of continual replenishment. "Civilisation," Dr. Tylor has said, "is a plant much oftener propagated than developed."¹ We must beware of the fallacy, for which some classical scholars have before now betrayed a weakness, of attributing the culture of any particular area, such as, e.g., the Aegean, to inhabitants possessing an innate instinct for humanism, with no other agencies than pure air and genial surroundings to induce that instinct to flourish and bear fruit. It is not enough to postulate a dark dolichocephalic Mediterranean race and thereby account completely and satisfactorily for the Mycenaean, or any other, civilisation. No one expects to find a highly developed civilisation in the centre of Africa, where tribes are scattered and intertribal communication limited. "Nothing is more trite than the remark that no savage nation has ever been known to civilise itself, but though it is habitually set aside, the argument involved in it has never been answered."² A people isolated, however naturally gifted it may be, cannot develop its culture beyond a restricted zenith. In process of time its stock of originality becomes exhausted, its civilisation becomes stationary and then decadent.

Of prime importance, then, for the history of civilisation are the channels of communication between peoples, be they the great winding world roads along which for ages the caravans passed bearing wares, or the rivers carving their way from the heart of the land to the sea, or the trackless deep itself uniting rather than separating distant shores. Kipling has somewhere said that transportation is civilisation. Yet of the three channels of transportation we have enumerated in estimating and accounting for the spread of early civilisations, the last is the one of which least account appears to be taken. The reason is perhaps due to the fact that our knowledge of the early world is based, if we except tradition, mainly on archæological remains and on written records where such are available and can be interpreted. From

¹ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed., London, 1903, i, p. 53.

² A. J. Mott, *On the Origin of Savage Life*, London, 1873, p. 37.

either source there is in the nature of things little to learn of navigation. The written records are mostly state documents, and the Great Powers of the early world seldom undertook expeditions by sea. In consequence excursions such as that to which we owe the Homeric "catalogue of ships" were few and far between, and it is only by the merest chance that we have any direct reference to navigation at all. The men who made it their business to sail the seas in far-off days were mainly traders, men who troubled themselves little with fighting and conquest save to promote their private enterprises and defend their interests. It is not easy to obtain records of such men and their dealings. It was not in their interest to proclaim abroad their exploits and direct attention to their trade routes. The Carthaginians, we know, successfully warned the Greeks off the trading routes through the Pillars of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were termed, until Colaeus, a Samian, was driven by adverse winds into the Atlantic, reaching eventually Tartessos in Spain, and creating for himself a fortune. Hence it is that the extent and importance of navigation in early times have been either overlooked or discounted. If not tacitly assumed to have been non-existent, navigation is apt to be regarded as having been of negligible dimensions, even in regions most suited to its practice. Thus the early inhabitants of the Aegean have been widely regarded as incapable of any form of navigation save the most elementary, consisting of slipping from island to island, or coasting along in little cockleshells of boats when visibility was good and the winds were favourable. But this was an induction from the disabilities and limitations of their successors. It is quite true that the Greeks of classical times are not presented to us as lovers of the sea. To them the sea revealed more of its terrors than its attractions. The Greek seafarer, as depicted by Hesiod, is the crofter-seaman, farming for most of the year but trading with his ship during the summer months when the weary season of harvest had come to an end, and sailing was seasonable for men.¹ It may have been that the Greek writers were themselves prejudiced. Hesiod himself shunned the sea. He had seen the seamy side of the mariner's life, since his father

¹ See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, p. 619-677.

was a seafaring man, driven to the life through poverty. Even the proof that there was an early Cretan navy (long doubted by scholars) of which Minos was the reputed founder,¹ and that there was early and intimate connexion between Crete and Egypt has not entirely overcome prejudices, and few classical scholars seem ready to allow that Cretan vessels could reach Egypt other than by a long coasting route round the eastern Mediterranean.

The general course of the development of the ship out of rude beginnings is well known, and need only be hastily recapitulated. The first stage is the single log. In process of time this is found to be more serviceable when the ends are sharpened, whilst additional buoyancy is given by hollowing out. The dug-out as an early form of the boat appears to be almost universal, and in places has survived to modern times. The width of the dug-out is increased by adding planks, and their increased use reduces the solid part to a mere keel. The fastening together of the planks leads to the use of ribs. The development of the means of propulsion leads through swimming, pole, oar and sail. Steering was effected at an early stage by the use of stern oars, afterwards supplanted by the use of large sweeps fastened either to the stern post or to a support near the stern. The decks, the poop, the anchor, the masts and yards, the sail have each their own history.

The ship is not the invention of any one people. Pliny may assign the honour to the Egyptians, and hold that Danaus was the first to pass over in a ship from Egypt to Greece,² but such folk-tales do not command much credence. The Phoenician legend that the Egyptian god Thoth was the first to put to sea on a log implies at least an acknowledgment that the origin of navigation is set so far back in time that it must be attributed to a deity.³ The ship has been slowly evolved, and is an inter-

¹ According to Thucydides (i, 4) he was the first to possess a navy, controlled the Hellenic sea, colonised the Cyclades, and did his best to clear the sea of pirates.

² *Hist. Nat.* vii, 57.

³ Pliny, *H.N.* vii, 57—"There are some writers to be found who are of opinion that ships were first thought of by the Mysians and Trojans for the purpose of crossing the Hellespont into Thrace. . . . We learn from Philostephanus

national product, embodying the joint results of the struggles of many peoples with the sea. We find the same type of ship in use in antiquity both in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The ancient rock carvings of Scandinavia show the same high prow and stern found in the Cretan ships of Minoan seals.¹ It would be strange if it were otherwise, for the ship more than anything else helped to link together the earliest civilised races of the earth. Amongst isolated peoples, on the other hand, development has been usually retarded. The requirements of the individual people and the nature of the sea to be encountered have determined the type of craft to be used. When a satisfactory solution of pressing problems has been reached, the stimulus to further development either ceases altogether or becomes so weak as to be ineffective. Thus it is that the dug-out, the canoe, the kelek, the kayak, the catamaran and other such-like craft have altered little in the course of centuries. Amongst the problems faced by early man was the discovery of the most suitable materials for boatbuilding. It has been pointed out, for instance, that Egypt can provide no tree long enough, straight enough or strong enough to form a ship's mast,² and yet from Egypt comes the representation of a pre-dynastic boat with a mast,³ so that the importation of timber from Syria must have begun at a very early stage in Egypt's history.⁴

that Jason was the first to sail in a long vessel. . . . Hippus, the Tyrian, was the first to invent merchant ships. . . . The Copae invented the oar, and the Plataeans gave it its broad blade. Icarus invented sails and Daedalus the mast and yards. . . . Eupalamus the anchor and Anacharsis that with two flukes." etc.

¹ "So far as I am aware, no previous writer has noticed that the type of ship represented in these rock-cut pictures of the Bronze Age in northern Europe is reproduced with remarkable fidelity in the vessels found by Stanley in use upon the Victoria Nyanza. But this does not in any sense invalidate the inference, which I think is a just interpretation of the evidence, that the Swedish ships of the Bronze Age reveal Phœnician influence."—G. Elliot Smith, 'Ships as evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture,' *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1915-1916, p. 81.

² P. E. Newberry, *Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research*, p. 18.

³ See H. R. Hall, *The Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age*, London, 1928, pp. 34 f., Fig. 28, p. 37.

⁴ "More fundamental still is the discovery of suitable woods for the keel, the planking, the mast, the yard and the oar of a ship. Man must have striven long before he learnt to plane planks accurately, to fasten them together first

We do not know what was the great urge which drove primitive man to adventure on the deep. It may have been hunger where hunting on land was difficult and suitable prey scarce. Unable, like the "wretched Chauci in the regions of the far north,"¹ to catch sufficient fish in the pools left by the receding tide, he may have had perforce to thrust out from the shore. According to the Babylonian legend, the daily pursuit of Adapa, the Babylonian equivalent of the Biblical Adam, was the catching of fish in the sea to supply the temple of the god Ea at Eridu. Amongst the remains of the civilisation of Ur have been found a pottery model of a boat and the remains of fish bones.² It may even have been fear of enemies or wild beasts, rendering a home on some island much more desirable—the same impulse perhaps which drove the lake-dwellers of the Neolithic and Bronze periods to construct their strange pile dwellings. It may even have been curiosity, the allurements of an opposite shore, or that innate love of adventure which characterised the Norse sea kings. Perhaps it was only a natural impulse to follow the line of least resistance. Land transportation involves great expenditure of human effort in overcoming natural obstacles. It implies, amongst other things, domestication of draught animals. Obviously it was to man's interest to develop a system of water transport to utilise to the best of his ability river, lake and sea. And everything points to this. Civilisation in the early world developed near the sea-coast. The track of the dolmens and menhirs follows roughly the shores of the sea. The Delta of the Nile was the cradle of Egyptian civilisation, whilst the Baby-

with withies and later with nails or pegs and to calk them; then to erect the mast firmly in its socket and support it with ropes of cowhide, or later of flax or hemp; then to weave the sails of flax or papyrus, or else sew ox hides together. . . . Finally, there came the never-ending problem of shaping the hull so that it would rise to the waves and not overturn in the trough of the seas."—I. H. Rose, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 37.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi, 1.

² "These inhabitants of Ur lived at a time which cannot be computed in any precise relation with better known epochs of the city's history. All that can be asserted is that they were undoubtedly divided by a long interval of time from the First Dynasty of Ur, itself reckoned only the third among the dynasties that arose after the Flood."—C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, London, 1929, p. 16.

lonian took its rise on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf when as yet the Euphrates and Tigris flowed as separate rivers into the sea. Southern Arabia undoubtedly owed its legendary civilisation and fabulous wealth to its early sea trade with E. Africa, India, and Egypt. Centuries before the Christian era its navigators had penetrated far beyond India to the shores of Shantung. The earliest civilisation of India has been traced to its north-west corner and the lower waters of the Indus, and, as we now know, a highly developed civilisation flourished at a very early period in Crete and amongst the shores and islands of the Aegean.

Whatever may have been the inducements which first urged man to navigation, nothing is more certain than that love of gain was the main stimulus to its development. A great deal of early trade was carried on by water, and we cannot credit the assertion of Thucydides that in ancient times trade in Greece was land trade.¹ Love of gain is confined to no nation, age, or clime. Man has coveted the things of his neighbour from the day on which first he stood upright. What will man not do and dare for gain? "Love of gain triumphs over all"² was Strabo's comment as he watched the perilous operation of transferring merchandise from merchant ships to lighters on the high seas off the mouth of the River Tiber, the ships of that age even, drawing too much water, when laden, to enter the river. "Pirates by the threat of death first compelled man to rush into death and venture on the winter seas, but now avarice exercises the same compulsion," remarked Pliny, with the same idea in mind.³ "If the way to gain lay through Hell," said a Dutchman, caught in the act of conveying powder to Antwerp, then beleaguered by his countrymen, "I would risk burning my sails." It is this same love of gain which has urged early man so strongly to the conquest of the sea and to the development of the ship and of navigation.

Documentary evidence for the early use of ships must of necessity be meagre, but it can be supplemented by archæology. Both Egypt and Babylonia, homes of the first great civilisations, were familiar with the boat as far back as we can trace their

¹ i, 13, and by implication, i, 5.

² c. 231.

³ *Hist. Nat.* ii, 47.

history. The pre-dynastic Egyptians (prior to 4000 B.C.) had already constructed boats of reeds large enough to carry two cabins amidships, and to be propelled by seven or eight pairs of oars, with a steersman at the stern, as shown on the interior of a bowl in the Cairo Museum. Compare with this also the model in the Egyptian Museum at Turin. In the boat is a cabin with a figure, and the forms of bow and stern show the marked development already attained in boat building in the Neolithic period.¹ In Middle Egypt the pre-dynastic cultures known as Badarian and Amratian have furnished pottery models of boats² which are thin and well deepened inside. The lines suggest horizontal ribs with narrow strips running from side to side. In Lower Egypt decorated vases of the pre-dynastic Gerzean culture already show boats, equipped with mast and the ensign of the nome to which they belonged, of Sequence Date 63.³ Petrie is of opinion that the ships depicted on the decorated vases of the pre-dynastic graves were for sea rather than Nile traffic, oars being useless for the Nile, since a boat could only ascend by use of sail. So far back does the use of the boat as a means of transport extend in Egyptian thought and tradition that it was associated with their gods, who were supposed to sail over the sky in boats. Indeed, the sungod Ra was believed to have two boats, one for the day journey and the other for the night.⁴

¹ See A. Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, E.T., London, 1910, p. 266.

² Badarian, Amratian and Gerzean are so-called from Badari, El-Amrah, and Gerzeh, where excavations have been made. See G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson *The Badarian Civilisation*, London, 1928, pp. 7, 34, etc.

³ The Sequence Date was the invention of Sir Flinders Petrie. By its means the cemeteries of the pre-dynastic age so far excavated have been arranged in order of sequence, although no attempt has been made, or apparently can be made, to determine the interval of time between any two. The Sequence Dates run from 30 to 80. See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (B.S.A. in Egypt, 31), London, 1920, pp. 4 f. The unit of sequence dating may be said to be roughly not shorter than a generation, and generally about a lifetime (p. 6).

⁴ "The association of boats and ships with temples and tombs goes back to very ancient times. In ancient Egypt, in Babylonia, and in Crete the gods were provided with sacred barks. In Egypt the holy shrine itself was in the form of a ship which rested on a pedestal or plinth in the temple. This ship-shrine was carried out of the temple and placed on a sea-going ship when the god had occasion to travel. In Babylonia apparently the ship of the god which found a home in the temple was itself a sea-going ship. It will

As early as the fourth and fifth dynasties there would appear to have been considerable sea trade between Egypt and Syria, and presumably also Egypt and the Aegean. The first news of sea connexions with the Syrian coast comes from the time of Sneferu (c. 2840-2816 B.C.), when we have record of a fleet of forty ships having returned safely home to Egypt laden with cedar wood.¹ In the funerary temple of Sahure at Abusir (c. 2700 B.C.) there was found an excellent depiction of the return of the Egyptian fleet from the north with Asiatic prisoners. The picture shows a large ship furnished with mast, oars and great steering sweeps. The mast has been lowered on to supports, the oars have been drawn inboard and the crew stand with uplifted hands in a general salutation to Sahure. An interesting feature is the stout cable (or what at least presents that appearance) running round the body of the ship under the waling pieces, probably the precursor of the *ὑποζώματα* which in later days girded in similar fashion the Athenian triremes.² It is manifest that between four and five thousand years ago the ship was already highly developed in Egypt at least.³

The ancient Egyptians, we have been led to believe, were not a race interested in navigation, but the same accusation, as we know, has been levelled at the Greeks, with probably just as little foundation. The 'Great Green', as the Egyptians called the sea, held many terrors for them. But Egyptologists now realise that under the Old Empire at least navigation had an honourable place. The painters of the earliest known vases adorned them with rude delineations of great rowing boats, and the wall pictures of graves at Hieraconpolis depict craft

certainly have carried a shrine. In the case of Crete we know that the great Minoan Goddess travelled from one sanctuary to another in a sacred bark, and there is reason to believe that she was regarded as Mistress of the Sea."—M. A. Canney, 'Boats and Ships in Temples and Tombs,' in *Occident and Orient* (Gaster Anniversary Volume), London, 1937, p. 50.

¹ See A. Koester, *Schiffahrt und Handelsverkehr des östlichen Mittelmeeres im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 11.

² See E. Meyer, *Aegypten zur Zeit der Pyramidenerbauer*, 1908, Pl. 15.

³ Cf. the interesting scale models of boats of the Middle Kingdom from the Tomb of Two Brothers in Manchester Museum.—M. A. Murray, *Manchester Museum Handbook*, pp. 17-18, Pl. 16

of varied shapes and forms.¹ In early historic times frequent expeditions were undertaken from Egypt to Syria and the Red Sea was navigated in its entire length. Commercial relations were entered into with the distant land of Punt, which may have embraced the coasts of both Southern Arabia and Somaliland. In later times also under the monarchs of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties trade in this direction was considerable. It would then seem to have ceased for a time but was renewed when the famous queen Hatshepsut occupied the throne. The temple walls of Deir el-Bahri have painted upon them excellent pictures of the ships sent by her to the renowned incense land. These ships of the sixteenth century B.C. were driven both by sail and oar, and were large enough to admit of thirty oarsmen. Gleanings from Egyptian written records concerning navigation are, as might be expected, meagre. We know that Ramses II and Ramses III had ships 'swim on the sea' to bring back the 'tribute of the lands' from Asiy (Cyprus or Crete?), and the islands of the sea, i.e. the Aegean islands. Nor were these islanders without similar ships. Peoples who have been identified with the Danaoi, Sardinians, Sicilians, Etruscans, and Achaeans, amongst others, allied themselves with the Libyans against the Pharaohs in the fifteenth century B.C. and we have mention of a naval battle fought somewhere off one of the mouths of the Nile delta about the beginning of the twelfth century. By his victory Ramses III checked the onstorm of the sea peoples. We have already remarked on the sameness of type of ship so clearly marked and so widely distributed in the early world. We have only to compare the ships, believed to be Phoenician, of the Theban tombs,² and the Egyptian ships of the time of queen Hatshepsut,³ to realise their fundamental identity. Here are the ships of Ezekiel's lamentation for Tyre, with their masts of cedar wood, their sails of fine linen, their oars of oak, and their banks of ivory.⁴

¹ See J. E. Quibell, *Hieraconpolis II* (B.S.A. Egypt, 5), 1899, Pl. 75 seq., pp. 21 f.

² See G. Daressy in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1895, pp. 286 f.; and W. Max Müller, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 2, Leipzig, 1904.

³ See J. Dümmichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, E.T., Leipzig, 1868.

⁴ Ezekiel xxvii, 5 f.

When we turn to the Mesopotamian valley we find that conditions so far as navigation is concerned were much the same as in Egypt. There the boat was already known and in regular use in the earliest known times. Here, too, we find it in legend closely associated with divine beings, a sure proof that its discovery and use go back to a very remote antiquity. It is interesting to note that on a painted tomb of Hieraconpolis is depicted a boat, unlike that of other Egyptian monuments, in conflict with Nilotic vessels. The foreign vessel is distinguished from the papyrus craft by the height of its prow and stern. It is acknowledged that this foreign vessel bears a close resemblance to those found in the oldest monuments of Mesopotamia. It appears in Egypt otherwise only on two late decorated vases and a few monuments of the First Dynasty.¹ The inference drawn is that the earliest known inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the Sumerians, were in direct contact by way of the Red Sea with the Egyptians of the pre-dynastic age. It must be admitted, however, that trade between Babylonia and Egypt may have been carried on by intermediaries such as the inhabitants of Magan, a district bordering on the Persian Gulf. In Babylonia the boat has as long a history as in Egypt. In the cemetery of Al-'Ubaid, near Ur, where the remains of a primitive settlement have been excavated, the model of a boat was found with a canoe-like body and a curved prow.² A feature of the early Babylonian relics is the number of boat models made of bitumen. These were especially common in the Sargonid age, but even at that time they had evidently a long pedigree. "With their shallow draught and long narrow hull and high prow and stern, the bitumen models, like the silver boat from the Royal Tomb are prototypes of the craft still used by the Arabs of the Marshland some forty miles south of Ur. No oars were found with them, but one had long copper punt poles. In a few cases there had been seats made of wood which had been simply made by pressing the ends down into the soft bitumen."³ And when we come to written records we find justification for the

¹ See V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London, 1934, Fig. 51.

² See H. R. Hall and C. J. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, vol. i, *Al-'Ubaid*, Oxford, 1927, p. 153.

³ See C. J. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, vol. ii, London, 1934, p. 145.

claim that the "cry of the Chaldaeans was in the ships".¹ For long it has been the contention of the Assyriologist that the origin of Mesopotamian civilisation must be traced to a people who came to that land in ships, for so they interpret the legend current amongst the Babylonians of Oannes, half-man and half-fish, who appeared from the waters of the Persian Gulf and taught mankind the elements of civilisation. It is certainly significant that one of the earliest centres of Mesopotamian culture was the seaport Eridu (now 180 miles inland) where was established the cult of Ea, the god of the deep. Ea was the 'lord of wisdom'. The ocean, his dwelling-place, was the 'house of wisdom'. He was the guardian deity of the mariner. All the arts were under his special care, the work of the potter equally with that of the goldsmith. Thus early was the ocean regarded as a promoter of civilisation. The description of the Ark in the Babylonian account of the Deluge so closely parallel in many of its elements to the Biblical version, makes it quite clear that no matter in what light the story itself be viewed there must have been in early Babylonia a conception of large ships. The age of the Gilgamesh epic in which the story of the Deluge occurs may not be accurately determinable, but it is certainly one of the oldest pieces of literature extant. The records, too, of Gudea, *patesi* (governor) of Lagash, are interesting. This ruler, who dates from about the middle of the third millennium B.C., sent to all quarters of Western Asia for the best building materials for the great edifices he was erecting in Lagash. Like the Egyptians he sent, for instance, to Lebanon for cedar wood. But what concerns us here is that he brought stone in great ships from Meluhha, a district in the north-west of Arabia. These ships had of necessity to circumnavigate the Arabian peninsula with the heavy cargo and must have been vessels of no mean size. We gather, too, from the inscriptions of the same period that there was a lively ship trade in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Sargon of Agade, earlier in the third millennium B.C., claimed to have extended his conquests to the Mediterranean, and to have crossed the sea to Cyprus, and possibly Crete. At Mohenjo-daro in the Lower Indus valley there has been unearthed what remains of a great

¹ Isaiah xliii, 14.

civilisation which also flourished towards the close of the fourth millennium B.C.¹ A number of the objects discovered reveal the closeness of the intercourse between the Mesopotamia of the Sumerians and the Indus valley. The inter-trade could only have been carried on by sea. So important appears to have been the ship traffic in those early days in the Persian Gulf and the estuaries of the great rivers that laws were instituted for its proper regulation. Thus we find in the great code of laws associated with the name of Hammurabi regulations relating to the building, hire, management, salvage, etc., of ships.² Some of these laws are of considerable interest. A ship had to be guaranteed seaworthy by the builders for the space of one year. If a man, having hired a ship and loaded it with cargo, suffered shipwreck through negligence, he had to give compensation for both ship and cargo.³ If, however, he managed to save the ship, he was only required to pay one-half the value. A ship in motion, it was enacted, must avoid a ship at anchor. In the event of a collision the ship in motion was held responsible. These and similar enactments are proof of the extent and importance of navigation in that region as early at least as the third millennium B.C.

With the use not only of rowing boats and galleys but full-rigged ships vouched for at such early times, must we confine ourselves to the belief that the navigation of the ancients was limited to short voyages made mainly by daylight? There is evidence enough of deep sea voyages. In the tale of the sea-raider in the *Odyssey* ⁴ he relates how he sailed from Crete with

¹ Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., London, 1931, pp. 76-78, 408-409, 435-445, etc.

² Hammurabi's date is generally taken to be in the neighbourhood of 2000 B.C. It is becoming increasingly clear that he did not originate the laws associated with his name, but only codified laws many of which date back to early Sumerian times.

³ A Lagash tablet in the British Museum Collection (B.M. 105347) dated the 4th year of Gimil Sin (c. 2300 B.C.), records a judgment in a lawsuit that the defendant who had been loaned a ship which was subsequently pillaged and damaged should give an undamaged ship to the plaintiff in its stead.—T. Fish, 'Eight Juridical Texts,' *Miscellanea Orientalia*, 1935, p. 101.

⁴ xiv, 199-359. See H. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks, B.C. 1400-900*, London, 1930, pp. 182-185.

a fresh and fair north wind easily as though downstream and without sickness and came on the fifth day to well-watered Egypt. Later on in his tale when the treacherous Phoenician into whose power he had fallen set out upon the ocean-going ship to sail to Libya, the ship ran before the wind outside Crete over the open sea. A coasting voyage in addition to the natural hazards of wind and wave exposed the sailor to the chance of attack from pirates. Pliny, remarking that in his time merchants on a voyage from the Red Sea to India had begun to take the direct course straight across the sea, added that this was less dangerous than that along the coast.¹ Piracy was rife in those days, and the Homeric viewpoint was that the profession of pirate was an honourable one.² Early navigation induced a close observation of natural phenomena. Knowledge of winds, tides and currents was gained by experience, treasured up and handed on to generation after generation of navigators. Without compass³ they learned to steer by the stars or the sun when out of sight of land. It may have been in such way and for such purpose that the foundations were laid of that astronomical knowledge which made Babylonia famous. And similarly farther afield. "On the Caroline Islands there are still living, hoary with age, a few members of the remarkable guild in which certain astronomical knowledge valuable in steering boats was hereditary. It knew accurately the position of the fixed stars with regard to the summer and the winter horizon, and at the same time it had a more precise acquaintance with the relative situation of islands for many miles around than the geography of the civilised nations contemporary with it could boast."⁴ When Vasco da Gama was sailing in quest of the Indies, or rather

¹ vi, 23.

² See G. Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work*, E.T., London, 1926, pp. 48 f.

³ The Chinese knew and used the lode-stone from very early times.

⁴ A. Kirchoff, *Man and Earth*, E.T., 1906, p. 41. "The Micronesians have always been fearless sailors. . . . In their canoes they ventured sometimes five hundred miles away from home. A sea captain coming upon a canoe of natives three hundred miles from their island, beating their way home against a head wind, invited them on board his ship for a rest. He presented them with a compass and taught them how to use it. But one of them pointed to an old chief and said: 'His head all same compass'."—Willard Price, *Rip Tide in the South Seas*, London, 1936, p. 16.

in quest of Prester John, he induced a 'Moor' at Zanzibar to pilot him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. It is to the Phoenicians that classical writers assign the honour of first making use of the stars in navigation, and the Pole Star was called Phoenice because of the advantages in setting the course by it. If the sky should happen to be obscured, the ancients were not at a loss. "When during the voyage," writes Pliny, with reference to navigation in the Indian Ocean, "no glimpse of the stars can be obtained and north cannot be ascertained, the seamen set free at frequent intervals birds which they carry with them and follow their wanderings as they seek the land."¹

Another aid to navigation in early use was no doubt the chart. The device of representing distances by lines was well-known to the ancients. The famous statue of Gudea, ruler of Lagash, in the Louvre shows him seated with a plan of fortifications drawn to scale on his knees before him.² There is an Egyptian papyrus of the thirteenth century B.C. on which a plan of some Nubian gold mines has been drawn.³ Charts for seafarers are not specifically mentioned by the earlier classical writers, but Ptolemy, in the prolegomena to his Geography,⁴ gives an account of a chart made use of by the Tyrian, Marinus, which had evidently passed through many editions. We need not suppose that the charts of the early mariner, if he made use of such, were other but crude and inaccurate. We should, however, avoid the error of supposing that chart-making for navigational purposes could only have begun in the sixth century B.C. merely because it is on record that Anaximander of Miletus was the first to attempt a map of the world.⁵ The charts of the navigators were not so elaborate nor so costly as the copper plate of that Aristagoras of whom Herodotus speaks on which "the forms of the whole earth, the whole sea and all the rivers were inscribed".⁶ They

¹ *Hist. Nat.* vi, 83. We are not told the species of bird used, but it is a reasonable conjecture that homing pigeons were so employed. If so, we would seem to have new light on the constant association of the dove with the goddess Astarte (the Greek Aphrodite). The cult of this goddess was especially popular with seamen. It was a dove, too, that Noah found useful for a similar purpose.

² There is a cast of this statue in the British Museum.

³ See A. Erman, *Aegypten*, Tübingen, 1885, p. 619.

⁴ i, 6. ⁵ Strabo, c. 7 (quoting Eratosthenes).

⁶ v, 49.

were simple and the cartographers laid themselves open to derision. "I laugh," said Herodotus, "when I see many who have drawn the circuits of the earth without any right understanding thereof. Thus they draw Oceanus flowing round the earth which is circular as though turned by a lathe and they make Asia equal to Europe."¹ Whatever the material on which they were inscribed, papyrus or wood, stone or metal, the charts might be rough but would no doubt be serviceable, not world maps which embodied much speculation,² but localised trading routes.³

The reason for the view that early navigation was limited in scope and wholly unadventurous may be explained by the fact that the records proper of navigation may be said to begin with the Greek geographers. They begin in consequence at a comparatively late date in a region where traces of previous civilisations had been all but obliterated in the drift of peoples. They began in an age, too, which appeared to possess no exact knowledge of its antecedents and whose historical sense Josephus has so vigorously impugned.⁴ The conception we form of early navigation is too largely shaped for us by the classical writers. But great civilisations had flourished and faded in the Aegean area before the Greek period, and navigation and all that it stands for is bound to be affected in any general decline of culture. The art

¹ iv, 36.

² Agathemerus (2nd cent. A.D.) begins his *Geographias Hypotyposis* with a criticism of world maps. According to him, Democritus drew the world as an oblong. Eudoxus thought its length double its width. Crates compared its shape to a semi-circle; Hipparchus to a table. Others likened it to a fish tail; the Stoic Poseidonius to a sling, and so on (*Geog. Graec. Min.*, ed. C. Müller, ii, Paris, 1861, p. 471).

³ "Most curious charts were used by the Marshall Islanders. They were not of paper—since paper there was none—but of sticks criss-crossed in a sort of lattice and tied in place. Shells fastened to the framework here and there represented islands. The proportionate distance between shells was nicely worked out to correspond to the actual distance between islands. Peculiar shells represented atolls and reefs. Shoals were indicated. Curved sticks showed the direction of swells. These charts were often three feet square. A little awkward to handle, perhaps, in a small canoe, but remarkably efficient. A canoe setting out on a long voyage might carry a dozen or more of them. A few would be small scale maps covering great distances. Most would be large scale maps of particular island groups."—Willard Price, *Rip Tide in the South Seas*, p. 17.

⁴ c. *Apionem*.

of shipbuilding can be lost as well as the art of gold beating. The great ships of Minos do not appear to have been perpetuated by the Achaeans. When Sinaherib required ships for an invasion of Elam he had to send for Hittite craftsmen to build his vessels, and used Tyrian, Sidonian and Cypriote seamen whom he "had made prisoners with his own hand" to man them. Shipbuilding, so important an industry in early Babylonia, had clearly become a lost art there in the seventh century B.C. Of all the peoples of the Pacific Ocean, the Polynesians were formerly the principal navigators. It is certain that their skill in building vessels and their dexterity in sailing them have declined since they have been brought into association with the white man. Instead of increasing their knowledge from modern sea-faring nations in such matters, they appear to have lost it.¹ It is certainly not safe to assume that navigation in Greek waters in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. must necessarily represent an improvement on the navigation in the centuries which preceded it. Who ever dreamed before the epoch-making discoveries of Schliemann and Evans of the rich civilisations which had flourished at one time amidst the shores and islands of Greece? Navigation in the Aegean in Minoan times had evidently reached a much higher level than in Hellenic. With all links connecting them with the past apparently severed for reasons not yet clear,² the world had to be rediscovered for Greek writers in their own time. Knowledge of distant seas and shores filtered through to them but very slowly and very imperfectly. Each Mediterranean seaport of reasonable size was a centre of trade whence its ships set out on relatively short voyages. Thus the ships of Massilia might trade with Gades in Spain. The Phocaeans would adventure from their Asia Minor home on the long voyage to Massilia, which they are reputed to have founded.³ Most of the voyages of discovery recorded by the Greek and Latin geographers were doubtless only voyages of discovery for Greek

¹ See C. R. Enock, *The Secret of the Pacific*, London, 1912, pp. 270 f.

² An interesting theory, which awaits verification from the archæological side, has been recently advanced by Sp. Marinatos ("The Volcanic Destruction of Minoan Crete," *Antiquity*, Dec., 1939, pp. 425-439) that a volcanic eruption on the neighbouring island of Thera in 1500 B.C. caused a panic emigration of the Cretan populace.

³ Thucydides, i, 13.

and Latin writers. The routes followed by the adventurers had been used by traders and others, whose exploits remained unsung, long before. The well-known account in Herodotus¹ of the circumnavigation of Africa by a Phoenician expedition sent out by Necho II of Egypt has been rejected by many scholars on the ground that the feat was incapable of accomplishment at that era (seventh cent. B.C.). The story as we have it presents no such extraordinary features as to cause us to doubt its accuracy. The Phoenicians took three years to the voyage and did it leisurely. Taking seed with them, they landed in the autumn (the spring season in Europe), sowed it and waited for the harvest before proceeding. It is a reasonable surmise that the coast of East Africa was well known to the Phoenician and Arab traders of that day and that the southernmost point of the continent had been doubled in the way of trade long before.² The identification of the Biblical Ophir with the gold-mine district of E. Africa is one which is particularly attractive. If so, the African coast as far as the Zambesi river must have been well known to the traders of Solomon's time. Poseidonius tells of one Eudoxus of Cyzicus of the second century B.C. who on his return voyage from India was driven southward along the African coast and came upon the wreckage of a ship of Gades (Cadiz).³ Then again the state-equipped expeditions sent out by Carthage in the days of her prosperity, under the leadership of Hanno and Himilco, can scarcely be classed as voyages of discovery, since they set out with definite objectives. Hanno's expedition was more of a colonising expedition consisting as it did of sixty fifty-oared vessels and a multitude of men and women, and aimed at the west coast of Africa. The expedition evidently did not realise the high expectations with which it set forth, and there is probably little solid ground for Pliny's statement that he managed to circumnavigate Africa and reach eastern Arabia.⁴ The narrative of Himilco's voyage, as preserved by Avienus, to the tin islands of the north, probably Cornwall, gives us a story of adventure not unmingled with phantasy. When, however, the

¹ iv, 42.

² See G. Oppert, *Tharshish and Ophir*, Madras, 1903, p. 71.

³ In Strabo, c. 98 f. Strabo proceeds to criticise the story as related by Poseidonius and tries to prove it a fabrication.

⁴ ii, 67.

author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* affirms that the first to make use of the monsoon to voyage directly across the ocean from South Arabia to India was a certain Hippalus we recognise that the statement was made either through ignorance or through racial pride.¹ India had an extensive sea trade in early times not only with Babylonia, Arabia and Egypt, but also with the countries to the south and east. From Ceylon before the earliest historical times ships sailed to Malacca, Siam, and China. Java and Bali were colonised by Indian settlers. "In the Egyptian tombs dating from the time of the XVIIth dynasty there was said to have been found mummies wrapt up in Indian muslin and containing vases of Chinese porcelain. Moreover, the old Egyptians used indigo for dyeing purposes and this vegetable product can be obtained only from India." . . . "The vessels employed on these voyages were large . . . they were built of papyrus like the ships on the Nile, the robes were manufactured from the coco palm, and the sails from the hemp which grew in Ceylon."² Indian connexion with the Hadhramaut region of S. Arabia has been traced back to Vedic times, and it is most unlikely that for indeterminable centuries a long coasting voyage was the only route followed.

With the systematic study of geography by the Greeks came the need for exploratory voyages conducted by competent observers. The voyage of Pytheas of Marseilles was such an expedition. He voyaged to the northern confines of Europe in the third century B.C., exploring the coasts of the mainland of Europe, visiting our own shores and penetrating as far as Ultima Thule, by some believed to be the Shetland Islands or Iceland, by others Norway. Yet when Pytheas visited the seas of north-west Europe he found mariners accustomed to voyage directly from Britain to Scandinavia at a time when, so at least classical scholars tell us, Mediterranean navigators hardly dared venture out of sight of land. Pytheas was almost too successful a voyager, and he evidently aroused the envy of some geographers, notably Strabo, who evidently did not wish the travel record of any other to exceed his own. He described Pytheas as an arch-liar (*ψεευδίστης*).

¹ Periplus, 57.

² G. Oppert, *Ancient Commerce of India*, Madras, 1879, p. 21.

στατος),¹ and his claim to have explored in person the whole north region of Europe as far as the ends of the world as one that could not be accepted "not even if Hermes made it".² But later ages appreciated the value of Pytheas' discoveries and observations and the materials he furnished were freely used by later writers. Yet all pioneering expeditions of classical times are not so well authenticated or so worthy of credence as that of Pytheas. What are we to make of statements given in good faith by Strabo and Pliny that a certain Patrocles circumnavigated Asia and arrived back in the Caspian Sea!³

The art of shipbuilding was so highly developed that from the earliest times of which we have record, the ship portrayed is no mean craft. In later times it would appear that the shipbuilding yards were so highly organised that ships could be almost mass produced. Listen to what Pliny says: "Going back to ancient times, it is a remarkable fact that in the first Punic war the fleet commanded by Duillius was on the water within sixty days from the time the timber was cut, and what is still more so, Piso relates that king Hiero had two hundred and twenty ships wholly constructed in forty-five days. In the second Punic war, too, the fleet of Scipio was at sea the fortieth day after the axe had been put to the tree. Such is the energy and dispatch that can be displayed on occasions of emergency."⁴

In view of all the evidence, we cannot but think that the limitations set by scholars to the extent and importance of early navigation are not warranted. Their imposition seems to have arisen mainly from their failure to appreciate the many aids to navigation in use from the earliest times of which we have record, from a serious underrating of the knowledge and resources, the courage and capabilities of the men who manned the ships and also a false estimate of the seaworthiness of the vessels. The boats of the distant past cannot bear comparison with the leviathans of modern navigation, but that is no reason why we should deny to them the privilege of crossing wide tracts of sea. One of the three ships in which Frobisher made his first and most successful expedition in search of the North West Passage was a vessel of only ten tons. The Atlantic and Pacific oceans have

¹ Strabo, c. 63.

³ *Ibid.*, 69; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi, 21.

² *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi, 74.

been crossed in recent times in boats far smaller than that. We may describe such voyages as foolhardy feats, but the fact remains that they have been accomplished. The Scottish fisherman will tell you that he feels safer in his small craft in a storm with plenty of searoom than he would in the finest steamship. The mariner of past days knew how to weather the storm as well as his successors. His ship could drive before the wind as did the ship which carried the apostle Paul on his adventurous last voyage. He knew also the effect of oil on troubled waters. The wily Atrahasis, the Babylonian Noah, used oil with effect when the tempest raged round his ark, and the awe-stricken gods crouched fearful at the rail of heaven.

As we have already remarked, the earliest civilisations of any consequence appear to have taken their rise on the seacoast. If our contention be granted that civilisation has always flourished best where the best facilities for international intercourse have been provided, it is evident that the sea must have been a very early and very important channel of communication, and that the practice of navigation must have had no small share in the spread of culture. This is a view that is now forcing itself into recognition. The spread of early cultures can never be satisfactorily accounted for by overland communications. To quote Hirt: "Through the inconvenience and poverty of the means of communication by land, we are compelled to turn our eyes to navigation, which must have played a preponderating rôle in prehistoric communications even more than in historic, great as that is".¹

With the growth of knowledge of the early world, problems have arisen which can only be solved on the supposition that the ancients knew more of navigation and practised it to a greater extent than they have received credit for. Thus, all the evidence points to the Canary Islands having received their first inhabitants in the early part of the second millennium B.C., and as the result of investigations it is believed that these immigrants must have come from the North African coast. That three distinct races found a home on the islands indicates that communication must have been maintained with the mainland in those early days. The peopling of Oceania, and the Oceanic civilisation itself,

¹ *Indogermanen*, i (1905), p. 396 f.

present another such problem. Man's early settlement amongst the islands points to the possession of sea-going vessels, a knowledge of navigation, a boldness and seamanship at which we can only marvel. As a student of the Oceanic languages and civilisation has remarked: "From whatever point the Oceanic race migrated into the island world they did so in sea-going vessels, and we may reasonably infer that before doing so they were habitually in possession of such vessels, or were a sea-going commercial people as for most part they are to-day".¹ Then, too, we have the still unsolved problem of lone Easter Island, with its monumental relics of a civilisation which has long passed away. How came man to find a home there in the very heart of the Pacific Ocean? No theory of drifting canoes with fainting occupants will meet such a case. "The distances between the islands of the Java Sea and the Banda Sea and the Coral Sea, and finally the distances of the Pacific Ocean could never have been traversed in mere canoes no matter how safe they were from the point of view of mere seaworthiness. The Hawaiian Islands are more than two thousand miles away from their nearest neighbours to the west and south. New Zealand is several thousand miles distant from the Cook Islands, and it takes you almost two weeks to go from Tahiti to the New Hebrides by steamer. And yet the fact remains that long before Columbus had ever dreamed of crossing the ocean, people from the eastern part of the Pacific had discovered and peopled the islands of the western."² We must be prepared, then, to acknowledge that early man visited these places with intent and that he was well equipped for the purpose. Still, when we think of Norsemen for centuries making the passage between Norway and Iceland in their great row-boats, their black-tarred sea-horses, or reflect that to all seeming they trod the shores of North America centuries before the caravels of Columbus crossed the wide ocean; when we think, also, of what the Eskimo may do and dare in his frail kayak, need we wonder that in more sunny climes, where, earlier than elsewhere, civilisations rose to such astonishing heights, shipbuilding and navigation kept pace with the general development.

¹ D. Macdonald, *The Oceanic Languages*, London, 1907, p. 5.

² H. W. van Loon, *Ships and how they sailed the Seven Seas*, London, 1935.

IBN KHALDŪN: A NORTH AFRICAN MUSLIM THINKER OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

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IBN KHALDŪN (1332-1406) was an exceptional man, and writer, and cannot easily be fitted into the Mediæval order of things. The last decade has seen a number of studies devoted to the description of this fascinating personality. All these attempts at assigning Ibn Khaldūn his exact position within the intellectual development, his place among the world's thinkers, have focussed attention upon a particular aspect of his teaching according to the particular approach and interests of the various writers.

It may therefore not be out of place if we attempt, in a brief essay, to map out the characteristic ideas which Ibn Khaldūn develops in the Introduction (*muqaddima*) to his Universal History (*kitāb al-'ibar*). We may be permitted to refer the reader to our earlier study on *Ibn Khaldūn's Gedanken Ueber den Staat*¹ for a detailed discussion, with extensive quotations, of what is given in the following pages. We begin by asserting again that Ibn Khaldūn was a Muslim, and must be seen against the background of Mediæval Islam if we are to understand his teaching.² For, if we tear him away from his spiritual background, we cut loose his roots and are apt to lose ourselves in an historically dubious and unjustifiable modernisation by attaching to him labels taken from modern economics and sociology. It

¹ *Beiheft 25 der Historischen Zeitschrift*, R. Oldenbourg (München/Berlin, 1932). To the Bibliography given there must be added: G. Bouthoul, *Ibn-Khaldoun, sa philosophie sociale* (Paris, 1930).

² Cp. Professor H. A. R. Gibb's critical long review of my monograph in *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1933, under the title: "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory."

cannot, however, be denied that there are to be found in his *muqaddima* striking parallels with the teachings of representative European thinkers from the eighteenth century onwards. But we must beware of seeing in Ibn Khaldūn an actual precursor of these thinkers and their systems as a whole, be they Vico, Comte, Hegel, Marx or Spengler. These parallels, on the other hand, are no mere coincidence. They testify to the premature birth of modern scientific inquiry into the human *group* rather than into the individual, and as such they are highly significant for the history of the human mind. But we must not forget that in the fourteenth century they are erratic, and not an organic growth of the modern age. Their emergence was possible in a time of transition, when the Mediæval order gave way, gradually, to a new grouping of political, economic and spiritual forces. They are the result of a method unparalleled in these days and commonly attributed to the age of the Renaissance: empiric observation by an impartial intellect. If a comparison must be made, we can still think of no closer parallel in matters political than Macchiavelli, though even so the differences between the two thinkers are considerable.¹ Yet, there is in Ibn Khaldūn many a characteristic feature of the Renaissance: his quest for empirical truth, his political activity often so reminiscent of the Condottiere, his humanistic conception of culture and civilisation. With such like traits he reaches out from his Islamic root and environment. Islam, for him, is the choicest fruit of a God-guided and Godward-directed human effort to give a community a lasting spiritual content, a complete answer to all the problems of life. At least in theory, it furnishes the complete answer to his empirical inquiry into the organisation of the human race.

But he was not only a Muslim judge, he was also a statesman and a scholar. Gifted with shrewd insight into the world as it is, he constructed a theory of the origin, growth and development of human society organised in a state invested with power and authority. This theory is seemingly unorthodox, even irreligious, and certainly not at one with the rules for political organisation

¹ I cannot repeat here what I have discussed at length in my above-mentioned monograph.

laid down by the *Shari'a*, the revealed "Canon Law" of Islam, nor with the Ideal State of the *Falasifa* after the model of Plato's *Politeia*. Thus, though starting from Islamic States of his own experience, he transcends the confines of Islam and tries to establish general principles and rules which should be applicable to every human group. The Islamic State, based on the ideal *Shari'a*, is outside his inquiry. Its principles and rules are described by Al-Mawardi, often quoted by Ibn Khaldūn whenever he describes Islamic institutions like the Chalifate, Imamate, and other offices of State.¹ As a realist and empirist, he looks at the political order of his day and tries to discover its underlying principles which he, then, extends to any and every state founded by man and maintained by human law. He thus arrived at creating a New Science, that of History, which comprises human society as a whole and its achievement in culture and civilisation which he terms '*Umrân*'. This is the great, new object of his searching inquiry.

It is of no serious consequence that Ibn Khaldūn bases his theory of human civilisation exclusively on the history of the Arabs, and in particular on that part of it which he helped to shape himself, North Africa. He uses other material only as far as his vast knowledge of every available Arabic source offered him. If we only realised that the differences between Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Middle Ages are much more of a theological nature than that they vitally affected the common outlook on a life, starting from, centring in and leading to God, we should not see in Ibn Khaldūn's neglect of the history of Christian Europe such a serious defect. (Needless to say, that geographical factors, political situation and charactersitics of the respective populations play an important part in these differences.) True, he generalises exclusively on information supplied by the Islamic world he lives in. But his frank criticism of Arab faults and defects, chiefly in the sphere of Empire building and maintaining, should be sufficient proof that the admittedly limited material enabled a man who was trained in Greek philosophy,

¹ Cp. on Al-Mawardi the careful, instructive study by Professor H. A. R. Gibb in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XI, 3, 1937, under the title "Al-Mawardi's Theory of the Khilafah."

Muslim traditional sciences, and the practical art of government, to arrive at his conclusions concerning the unalterable laws which underlie the course of events. Moreover, the political reality which was the object of his inquiry as a phenomenon of human nature was not more or differently affected by Christianity than by Islam. The State as it is, not as it ought to be, was the object of his searching inquiry. And his own observations of this institution supplied him with the laws and principles he formulated. He was neither a cynic nor a romantic, neither an activist nor a fatalist: he was a realist. And futile and cumbersome as dabbling in politics must have appeared to the scholar in him, he could not help trying his hand at the game. But an ardent desire to get at the laws of political calculation and intrigue, of administration and strategy rather than personal vanity and lust for power seem to have prompted him. He was first and foremost a scholar. Only so can we understand that though a successful ambassador, a negotiator of skill and ability, a statesman at the heart of the political administration, a capable general, he was not interested in reform. His self-appointed task was to find out empirically the laws underlying that process which is called history. As a scholar he diagnosed. He was neither a healer nor a reformer. There is no reason to style him a fatalist *qua* Muslim. He discovered that the laws governing human society organised into political entities are as unalterable as those of human nature. He saw his task in establishing these laws, and by his success he became the first thinker to include the whole of society in a scientific inquiry. At the same time, he subjected the organisation of society, the State, to a hitherto unknown investigation, as he did not start from any presuppositions of a religious or moral order. For he assigned to the State a life of its own, independent of any external laws. It follows its own laws like any other natural phenomenon. That he was a Muslim did not affect his formulations, though the scene of his disinterested observations was naturally the Islamic Empire. Being intensely interested in the origin and progress of human society, he looked for and found its laws. What puzzles and often misleads his readers into doubting his "orthodoxy" is that he arrived at his views of the independence and self-sufficiency

of the political order, the State, quite apart from the *Shari'a*. The State has its laws in itself. To found and maintain a State can be quite independent of any religious foundation and contents. The natural requirements of human life necessitate association and organisation backed by force and authority. This is not to say that a religious State does not exist, still less that a religious State is not vastly superior to a human creation. It is nothing but a statement of fact—not touching the higher existence of a religious State—based exclusively on experience. It does not pronounce upon the qualities, merits or demerits of the secular as against the religious State. Valuation is quite alien to Ibn Khaldūn. But he leaves no doubt that the Islamic State (for him identical with the religious State) is superior to the political State, as the former has man's happiness in the future world at heart whilst the latter cares only for his material well-being in this world. Herein he agrees with the Muslim (and Jewish) philosophers, but it is outside his interests, which are centred on the real State, founded on force and power and maintained by laws agreed upon by the "citizens" of the State and backed by an authority vested in a ruler who relies on his army to guarantee order and security within and protection against enemies from without. But whenever he discusses Islamic institutions he sides with unimpeachable orthodox tradition. This can be gathered nowhere better than from his attack—completely in the vein of Al-Ġazzālī—on philosophy by stressing the futility and obvious shortcomings of metaphysics as against the superior revealed truth of Islam, the certainty of faith as against the fallacious probability of human reason and its inadequacy to explain things out of human reach. Moreover, he was by nature an empirist, and thus averse to speculation. Besides, he was not primarily interested in the individual soul and its perfection and happiness; his main interest centred round the group, the community of individuals organised in the State. As a Muslim he naturally realises the impact of Islam on individual and collective life alike, and he avers more than once in unequivocal terms (strikingly reminiscent of Macchiavelli) the absolute necessity of religion for a really united and effective State. But it is the State he has in mind, not the revealed truth of Islam.

How does he build up his theory, and how does he conceive of society?

Sound observation of the successive North African dynasties which he served taught him two things before all: First, human groups organised in a State are natural phenomena like human beings and like them pass through the stages of birth, growth, decline and death. Secondly, the various stages of such an organic life follow each other after an appointed order with clock-like regularity. Law, the law of cause and effect, not arbitrariness, rules individual and group life alike. This law derives from human nature, and is unalterable. Human nature demands association and organisation in a political State, as we remarked before. The State is like a living organism, and its life proceeds in cycles. Authority in the State results from a powerful family founding a dynasty. State and dynasty are, however, not identical, for dynasty may give way to dynasty without upsetting the fabric of the State. The State is the frame within which human activity can unfold itself in building that culture and civilisation to describe which is Ibn Khaldūn's aim in writing his History. He is—at least in theory and in his *muqaddima*, yet strangely enough not in the actual historical narrative—not satisfied with the old method of the chronicler to furnish data and confine his task to narrating the actual events. His purpose is to make events intelligible by establishing their cause and by relating them to the driving forces of human endeavour and achievement, and taking into account climatic and geographical factors. For the first time, thus, he discovers *one* leading principle, one guiding central idea in the process, decreed by nature, of associating men into political groups guaranteeing their lives and releasing their faculties for material civilisation and more permanent spiritual values, forming what we are accustomed to term culture. This driving force he sees in the '*Aṣabiyya*, the common bond uniting members of one family, one tribe, one nation, and driving them to corporate action on behalf of the community thus bound. It is the only politically creative factor, bestowing authority upon the chosen leader of a group and giving him the necessary support for action through his kinsmen imbued with the same ideal. To conceive of such

a force was possible only for an Arab, proud of his noble descent, who traced his ancestors in Yemen back to the times of Muhammad, whom they helped and served. But '*Aṣabiyya*' is more than a blood tie, though this is its nucleus in the beginning. It soon incorporates a common ideal, such as, e.g., the idea of *Djihād*, Holy War, and Islam, in particular, has transformed and often supplanted it through its call to propagate and spread the true faith by sword and persuasion. We are not concerned here with the curious rivalry, and at the same time complementary nature of religion and '*Aṣabiyya*'. This belongs to a special study such as I have given in my monograph referred to at the outset. Suffice it to say that the two spiritual forces are complementary rather than exclusive of each other. That Ibn Khaldūn stresses the one rather than the other is due to his standpoint at the time. If he discusses a political institution within Islam he naturally speaks of an '*Aṣabiyya*' coloured with religious enthusiasm, and sees often '*Aṣabiyya*' as the united response to the religious call. But he is not blind to two facts: First, that in a State based on revelation, '*Aṣabiyya*', though indispensable, is subordinated to the religious ideal which it helps to realise itself and which cannot realise itself without it. Secondly, he knows that '*Aṣabiyya*' can very well bring into existence a purely political State based on power and conquest with the sole purpose of establishing dominion and domination. But he would not be a Muslim if he did not realise that sheer power is not sufficient to maintain and develop dominion, and that one single '*Aṣabiyya*' is not capable of constant regeneration to be powerful enough to rally sufficient force round the holders of power and authority. It is here that religion steps in and gives the original '*Aṣabiyya*' its creative contents and sustaining impulse. But on psychological grounds he saw that '*Aṣabiyya*', an active, fighting ideal gives way, though only gradually, to obedience. And prolonged obedience is often detrimental to manliness and active courage. This question of individual will-power and striking force is bound up the second factor which Ibn Khaldūn discovered as making history: the contrast between the free, self-relying life in the country (both desert and arable lands) and the peaceful protected life in towns. The Arab and soldier in him made him insist

on the natural superiority—as far as manly qualities are concerned—of the life of *bâdiya* or *badâwa*, the rural mode, over against the sedentary town life with its more refined manners and corresponding callings of artisans and merchants. It is wrong to make Ibn Khaldûn despise the civilised life (*ḥadâra*). He is far from deploring a natural process which stands under the unalterable law of human nature. Nor does he see in the necessary transition from the *badâwa* to the *ḥadâra* a deterioration and distortion. It is for him as necessary as the change from night to day. It carries with it all the potentialities of human progress and cultural advance, and follows logically from man's desire to satisfy his higher ambitions of an intellectual and æsthetic order after the necessities of life have been guaranteed. This inherent urge in human nature for the true and beautiful cannot be kept back. It makes a clear advance over the food-gathering and food-producing stage of the more primitive, animal type of man. But the advance is only possible after the sure foundations of an agricultural community have been laid and developed. He may have considered the tribal community with the *sheikh* as the *primus inter pares* as the Golden Age, but he was realist enough not to mourn the loss of this first stage of human association which had, of necessity, to give way to the second stage: the founding of a State with a capital and a ruling dynasty.

The transition from the *sheikh* to the founder and first ruler of a dynasty with their following is the result of the psychological urge for improved conditions. Again, of necessity it soon gives way to the establishment of absolute rule of a sovereign, since the founder emancipates himself from his associates in matters of political leadership and administration. At this stage only can we speak of a State in the strict sense, i.e. after sovereignty has been established and all authority is vested in the hands of one man.

Before following up the political process, it is to be noted that the distinction drawn between *badâwa* and *ḥadâra* is of far-reaching importance. *Badâwa*, to emphasise it once more, comprises the various stages of a life representative of desert-dwellers, nomads, cattle breeders and cultivators of the soil, whereas *ḥadâra* denotes urban life and civilisation. Yet, these

descriptions are only approximate, as they are actually almost untranslatable terms, like *'Aṣabiyya*. For it marks the decisive dividing line in the progress of human organisation and advance. As this organisation is subjected to the natural law of generation and decay, the development is a natural and necessary one ; no valuation can enter, for each stage represents a necessary step in a development, and is in itself as good as the next stage, not morally, of course, but justified by its necessity. Man passes through a process in the course of which he loses qualities which are excellent in themselves but must not be valued in the absolute, but rather seen in relation to the respective stage of that society of which man is a member. Therefore, if the characteristics of the first stage in the laborious process of human civilisation are manly courage, fierce independence, and ever-vigilant watch over freedom of action and self-protection and self-reliance, which get lost in the change-over to fenced-in towns, where a particular class, the soldiers, undertake the function of protection of all citizens, this is a natural process which cannot be reversed. In exchange, man develops other qualities : no longer forced to defend himself against enemies in the open country his abilities for making peaceful instruments are released. He becomes a craftsman and artisan, or a trader and merchant and contributes towards raising the standard of living as well as the ways of dwelling and clothing. The arts and sciences receive a great stimulus from the court and those near it, and hand in hand with the material civilisation there develops a culture worthy of the name. And yet, just as the *bâdiya*-life carried the germs of destruction in itself, so civilisation and culture breed their own decline in the natural development to luxury and ease and in their train moral laxity and depravity, until decay sets in, ending in a dissolution of the formerly healthy society which gradually becomes corrupted and hurries to its extinction.

Ibn Khaldūn states these facts, arrived at by impartial inquiry, and by doing so he has fulfilled but one part of his set task : to describe the process of history as an ever-returning cycle the necessity of which is prescribed by nature, wherefore we have to accept it. But he goes deeper than this by asking

for the reasons of this eternal movement. Generally speaking, he finds the answer in human nature with its manifold desires and aspirations. From his own experience of history in the making he generalises and perhaps unifies and simplifies a little too much, prompted by a truly scholarly motive: the quest for an underlying law to which all phenomena of the historical process can be related by logical deduction. But there is an irrational factor as well, the acting of which often upsets and offsets the logical cycle. And it is this element which Ibn Khaldūn overlooked as most over-systematising thinkers are apt to do. But the real significance of his reasoning lies not so much in that he found a guiding principle in the working of the human mind subject to the law of causality nor that he discovered, in the *'Aṣabiyya*, one central driving force for the existence, growth and decline of the State. Rather it lies in his fundamental perception of the interrelation between the various factors which in their sum make up human life organised in society. We must repeat that he thought in terms of politics, that he reviewed all spheres of life in relation to the State. Political thought there has always been in Islam, but it either started from the *Shari'a*, and the problem was how to harmonise the existing State with the explicit regulations of the *Shari'a*, or it started from Plato and tried to harmonise the actual State with the ideal State of perfect reason, losing itself in speculation. Moreover, in the minds of most Muslim thinkers both trends of thought interacted upon each other. Ibn Khaldūn, however, for the first time started from a hitherto unknown quantity: the human society. His problem was: how did society, as the aggregate of individuals, form itself into a political organisation, and how did it develop? The individual interested him only in so far as it formed part of that politically organised society. Human nature required, as the Greeks taught, political organisation. Ibn Khaldūn repeats Aristotle's Platonic dictum as his predecessors had done. He finds that association alone is not sufficient, that constraint must be put on man and his selfish wishes in the form of law. He says very little of this law in practice, as this was done for him by the interpreters of the *Shari'a*. Law is a necessary part of the political fabric, and only as such a factor

does it enter Ibn Khaldūn's thought. But he is much more explicit about the two essential factors of a working State : Economy and Army, the two pillars of the political power. It is important enough that he formulated laws of political economy—as we would say in our modern terminology—that he saw the connexion between supply and demand and, consequently, the cost of goods, that he distinguished between things necessary for the bare maintenance of life, things which were useful beyond the necessary and, lastly, things which were luxuries, going beyond the useful and serving pleasures, both material and spiritual. But what is of greater significance still is that he saw a logical, necessary connexion between these three categories in progressive development which overturns and leads downward to ruin. And not only did he see connexion and development by stages within one and the same sphere, but he discovered interrelation between one and another. He perceived that the economic sphere cannot without serious consequences for the machinery of society be looked upon as segregated from finance, army, spiritual culture. They are all interconnected, and only if they are in perfect equilibrium on the basis of a mutual give-and-take is the State at its best and functions normally and effectively. He views all these factors, economic, legal, financial, religious and cultural under the political aspect. How must all these factors be brought into line with the requirements of the State ? His empiric nature made him see the effect which a disturbance in one sphere had on the other spheres of life, and he discovered the law of causality at the root of this mutual influence. This is something quite new and revolutionary and, indeed, far advancing into the modern age. Nowhere can this be seen better than in his plea for sound finance, moderate taxation and free economy. Dealing with a State built on force through conquest and maintained by military power, the financial position held the key to the balance of the political life. The State passed through five phases (conquest, building up of dynasty, reaching and maintaining the peak, decline and fall) within four generations of the ruling dynasty. Within these phases the economic life expands with the expansion and consolidation of the dynasty. The human urge to comfort and

ease has a stimulating effect on the economic life. The more that goods are produced, the more that refined works of art are created the greater become the demands of the possessing classes. Increasing luxury makes increased demands on the treasury, and the result is higher taxes and customs charges. With a growing population, the necessities get cheaper and cheaper, the turnover has to make up for the dwindling gain and profit. The prices for luxury articles go up but increased taxation takes away the profit, with the result that agriculturists, artisans and merchants alike become weary of their toil, lose interest in their work, so that the treasury cannot count on regular, let alone increased returns.¹ As the State at this stage has to rely on mercenaries, the question of their pay preoccupies the governing classes to the exclusion of almost everything else, apart from their wish for an easy, good life. The monarch very often takes the disastrous step of taking an active part in the national economy by trying to set up a monopoly in agriculture and/or trade and commerce, thus ousting the less moneyed natural workers in these occupations until he ruins them and himself as well in the end. The State without adequate protection, for lack of funds to pay the mercenary army, then falls an easy prey to outward attack and/or revolt from within.

True, this is a deduction from actual conditions in Ibn Khaldūn's own day where States changed hands continually. On this account his conclusions may be limited to his own time, and not necessarily applicable to political development generally. But more significant is the undoubtedly new and correct perception of the causal interdependence of economy, finance and political power, to the exclusion of chance and personal initiative. Examples could be multiplied from other activities within the State which are of peculiar interest to the psychologist, economist, military strategist or the student of law and political science. They all bear out the one result: that here in the fourteenth century a North African thinker advanced, through his own experience in his own land and in Muslim Spain, a complete

¹ This is a résumé of Ibn Khaldūn's exposition. A more detailed, documented account is given in my monograph in the Chapter *Staat und Wirtschaft*. The economist must judge for himself the correctness of these views.

theory of human civilisation and culture progressing in a politically organised society. Neither the ideal State of a divinely inspired law-giver nor of philosophic speculation is the object of his science. It is the State built on conquest and force, inspired by the corporate will of a group (*'Aṣabiyya*). But will for what? Will for power and domination. Many a reader and critic of Ibn Khaldūn has stopped at that point and labelled him a materialist. But to take such a view would be one-sided, as it does not take into account that the spiritual environment of Ibn Khaldūn is the highly developed Islamic civilisation. This alone explains the large room Islamic institutions occupy in his analysis of the social-political organism, as well as the indisputable fact that human nature must be curbed by values outside it which transcend custom and habit, the great influence of which Ibn Khaldūn realised and took into account. If we bear this in mind, we may be able to clarify the apparent confusion which exists between *'Aṣabiyya* and Religion. As a student of reality, Ibn Khaldūn saw that either can exist without the other. But he also saw that a lasting political order is unthinkable without the co-operation of the two. Only if *'Aṣabiyya* is transformed by religious zeal and higher aim into a spiritual, formative ideal, only then enduring results of a character far exceeding sheer force and lust for power will be achieved. On the other hand, no religious ideal will see its realisation without that corporate will and enthusiasm behind it. It needs always a party to realise in actual life the message of an ideal. No wonder, therefore, that Ibn Khaldūn clung to Islam as the superior State, as the ideal society of man striving for dominion and power, not for their own sake but in order to enforce the ideal of human perfection and happiness in this world and in the world to come. He, thus, not only repeated what Muslim thinkers (and for that matter Jewish as well) from Alfarābī to Averroes had stated before him, viz. : that the State based on human law cares for the citizen's earthly welfare only, whereas the State based on the revealed (superior) law, the *Shari'a* (or *Torah*), ensures earthly and other-worldly bliss. He was honestly convinced of this as the result not so much of rational speculation as rather of his own experience. It would, however, be likewise wrong to label

him an idealist. For he was too much of a political observer to overlook the realities of human relations. And it is gratifying to see how this scholar who conceived of the historical process and man's eternal struggle within it in the form of a cycle, by his own empiric quest was led back to the starting-point of the unquestioning faithful Muslim (and for that matter every Mediæval thinker): that only the religious ideal is capable of inspiring man to create permanent values which survive dynastic and national-political boundaries.

THE CHINESE SAGES AND THE GOLDEN RULE.

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DISCUSSIONS of the Golden Rule, as it occurs in the Gospels and as it is found elsewhere, have commonly been concerned primarily with the form of the wording, whether positive, as in the Gospels, or negative, as generally elsewhere. Parallels are widely found, indeed, and have been copiously collected from Classical, Jewish, Indian and Chinese sources. It lies beyond the scope of the present paper to examine them all, but for the collections of parallels and discussions of them reference may be made to the works of Poole,¹ Taylor,² Tasker,³ Spooner,⁴ Abrahams,⁵ and G. B. King.⁶

All of the parallels which have been adduced stand in the negative form, of which Tobit iv. 15 (Vulgate 16) may serve as an example: "What thou thyself hatest, do to no man". It is generally argued that this is inferior to the positive form found in Matt. vii. 12: "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them", or in Lk. vi. 31: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise". The negative form, it is maintained, belongs to the realm of law, and means no more than "Refrain from injuring another", whereas the Gospel maxim means "Do thy neighbour good". The latter is therefore correctly described by Jesus as expressing 'the law and the prophets'.

¹ *Synopsis Criticorum*, iv, 1686, col. 240.

² *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 2nd ed., 1897, pp. 142 f.

³ In Hastings' *D.C.G.*, i, 1906, pp. 653 f.

⁴ In Hastings' *E.R.E.*, vi, 1913, pp. 310-312.

⁵ *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, 1917, pp. 18-29.

⁶ "The Negative Golden Rule" in *Journal of Religion*, viii, 1928, pp. 268-279; xv, 1935, pp. 59-62.

G. B. King, in the papers already referred to, collects a whole series of writers who have thus exalted the positive form above the negative, including both English and German writers. His list might be largely augmented, but since it includes no French writer, the addition of a single distinguished French scholar may be permitted. Lagrange¹ says: "Le chef des Pharisiens avant le temps de Jésus, Hillel, disait seulement: 'Ce qui ne te plaît pas, ne le fais à aucun autre: c'est toute la Loi, dont tout le reste n'est que l'explication'. Telle est bien en effet la règle de la justice . . . Mais cette abstention négative ne lui suffit pas."

This view, however, is contested by King, as it has also been contested by others. Thus Abrahams² says: "The contrasts between the negative and positive forms of the Golden Rule are not well founded". It is to be noted that in the addition to the Western text of Acts xv. 29 we find the negative form, as also in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, i. 2, and in other early Christian writings. This would suggest that the early Church did not distinguish between the negative and the positive forms. As little did Calmet, who closed his comment³ on Lk. vi. 31 with the words: "Voyez Tobie, iv. 16, la même sentence en d'autres termes".

Hirsch and Abrahams go much farther than this, and argue that the negative form is definitely superior to the positive form. Thus Hirsch says: ⁴ "The negative form of the Golden Rule marks if anything a higher outlook than the positive statement in which it is cast in Matthew"; and Abrahams: ⁵ "The negative form is the more fundamental of the two, though the positive form is the fuller expression of practical morality". This view rests on the consideration that our power of evil is so much greater than our power of good, and hence the negative precept goes deeper into the heart of the problem.

It is clear that the distinction between the two forms of the maxim is not very secure, and with the loss of this distinction it is sometimes supposed that the originality of Jesus in this

¹ *L'Évangile de Jésus-Christ*, 1936, p. 148.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'A. et du N.T.*, vii, 1726, p. 483.

⁴ In *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vi, 1904, p. 22b.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

connexion disappears. Thus Reinach, in treating of Confucius, says : ¹ “ ‘ Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you ’ was a precept Confucius had no need to borrow from our Scriptures ”. It is tacitly assumed that the equation of the terms of the precepts involves the equation of their content. Were this really so, then we should be forced to the conclusion that this saying of Jesus, so often regarded as the climax of His ethical teaching, is a mere commonplace of the world’s moralists.

Actually it seems futile to discuss the sayings merely as isolated maxims, unrelated to the rest of the teaching of those who uttered them, since it can only be in the context of that other teaching that the real meaning of the words on the lips of any teacher can be discerned. Moreover, before the relative worth of the precepts can be appraised, it is important to consider how far they embody the penetrating observation of the philosopher, or how far the inspiring call of the leader. Yet again, it is essential to ask what was the motive power to which the teacher looked for the realization of his teaching.

To cover in this manner the whole field of the parallels that have been discovered would be impossible in a single paper, and we must therefore limit the present consideration to the Far Eastern corner of the field. Here it is common to adduce the parallel in the recorded sayings of Confucius, and less frequently an utterance of Lao-tzŭ. A third sage also calls for attention, though he is generally completely overlooked in all discussion of the subject, despite the fact that he seems to come much nearer to the level of the New Testament than either of the others. This is Mo-tzŭ, the long neglected sage, who is attracting increasing attention both in China and in the West.

I

The date of Lao-tzŭ is uncertain, but he is generally believed to have been an older contemporary of Confucius. The date of his birth is commonly given as 604 B.C.,² but Wiegier³ puts

¹ *Orpheus*, Revised ed., 1930, p. 159.

² So Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix, 1891, p. 2.

³ *Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 145.

it somewhat later, and says that his life falls between 570 B.C. and 490 B.C.¹ H. A. Giles, while allowing that Lao-tzŭ is a historical person, is completely sceptical of the reasons for connecting him with the age of Confucius,² and leaves his *floruit* entirely undefined. He believes that the Tao Tê Ching is a forgery of the second century B.C.³ This scepticism is declared by Maclagan⁴ to rest on a somewhat crude criticism, and its arguments, which had first appeared in the *China Review* in 1886, had already been rejected by Legge,⁵ who concluded his discussion of the subject by saying: "I do not know of any other book of so ancient a date as the Tào Teh King, of which the authenticity of the origin and genuineness of the text can claim to be so well substantiated".⁶

Amongst the recorded teachings of Lao-tzŭ there is none that formally parallels the Golden Rule, but there is one oft-quoted saying that parallels other related New Testament teaching, which stands beside the Golden Rule in its Lucan setting. This is the famous maxim: "Recompense injury with kindness", which stands in the Tao Tê Ching, chap. lxiii.⁷ The word which is here translated *kindness* normally means *virtue* or *moral excellence*, and it is identical with the second word of the title of the Tao Tê Ching, which Julien translated 'Le livre de la Voie et de la Vertu'.

The maxim is referred to in the *Confucian Analects*, xiv. 36, where the comment of Chu Hsi is that *tê* here means *ên hui* = *kindness*. This view has been followed by Legge and other translators. Maclagan, however, holds⁸ that it is a mistake so to translate it. He says that in the Taoist sense *tê* is 'activity devoid of self-determination, the expression of the spontaneity of the immanent *Tao*'. Hence he declares that the maxim 'is no more than a precept of indifferent self-possession', and that it simply means 'Be a Taoist, even though provoked'. This view is borne out by a study of the context, and of the whole

¹ Cf. Hu Shih, who places the birth of Lao-tzŭ circa 590 B.C. (*The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, 1928, p. 13).

² *Confucianism and its Rivals*, 1915, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴ In Hastings' *E.R.E.*, xii, 1921, p. 197b.

⁵ *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix, 1891, pp. 4 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 199a.

teaching of Lao-tzŭ, though I am not persuaded that it is necessary to disagree with the rendering of Legge.

When the maxim was submitted to Confucius, he replied : ¹ "With what, then, will you recompense *té*? Recompense injury with justice, but recompense *té* with *té*". Here the meaning would seem quite clearly to be 'Do good to them that do good to you', and it would appear to be certain that Confucius did not understand the word *té* in the sense Maclagan attaches to it, but in the sense Chu Hsi assigns it. While this does not prove that it had the same sense for Lao-tzŭ, the presumption that it does may be allowed, and that he did mean 'Recompense injury with kindness'. But even so, the maxim cannot be understood in a Christian sense without more ado. Legge's translation of the context is as follows : "(It is the way of the Tão) to act without (thinking of) acting ; to conduct affairs without (feeling the) trouble of them ; to taste without discerning any flavour ; to consider what is small as great, and a few as many ; and to recompense injury with kindness". From this it is manifest that the principle does not spring from any root of love for the injurer, but rather from complete indifference to him. On the Taoist view, it is the part of the superior man to be completely unmoved by the vicissitudes and experiences of life, to taste without discerning any flavour, to be uninfluenced by what he suffers, to let the initiative of his life be wholly from within, without relation to circumstances. The maxim springs, therefore, from a radical selfishness of spirit, from the view that the superior man must guard his own superiority.

This is in accordance with the general principles of Taoism. Soothill says ² that Lao-tzŭ "advocates the policy of inaction, that is, non-interference or quietism. It naturally follows from this quietist spirit that the doctrine of requiting injury with kindness, for which Confucius had no use, finds clear expression". Similarly Moore observes : ³ "The Taoist cultivates inaction ; he is silent even about the Tao ; he teaches without

¹ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2nd ed., i, 1893, p. 288.

² *Three Religions of China*, 3rd ed., 1929, p. 49.

³ *History of Religions*, i, 1931, p. 52.

words ; he renounces learning and wisdom ; he has an air of indecision and irresoluteness, a vacant and stupid look ”.

It is true that Lao-tzū inculcates the principles of gentleness and humility and frugality, but all from a purely self-regarding point of view. It is in these things that a man's true well-being lies, and in deserting them for the fret and fuss of life, he forfeits his own greatness of spirit. In Lao-tzū's view, weakness is stronger than strength, and strength weaker than weakness. The way of yielding is therefore the victorious way. In all this there is no concern for the transforming of the world, or for helping others, but only the idea that in the way of the Tao a man may realize his own truest well-being.

There is one frequently quoted passage, however, which might seem to support a different view. In Tao Tê Ching, xlix. 2, we read : ¹ “ To those who are good (to me), I am good ; and to those who are not good (to me), I am also good ;—and thus (all) get to be good. To those who are sincere (with me) I am sincere ; and to those who are not sincere (with me), I am sincere ;—and thus (all) get to be sincere.” This would certainly seem to imply that the power of the example of the superior man may be expected to transform others, and that his triumph will consist not alone in maintaining his own superior spirit, but in communicating it. It has to be observed, however, that in Legge's rendering the crucial word *get* rests on a conjectural emendation of the text, and certain other important words, enclosed in brackets above, are unexpressed in the text, and have to be supplied by the translator.² On so obscure a passage, it is therefore difficult to build with confidence. But even though the translation could be unreservedly accepted, it would still be far from established that it taught any genuine altruism. For it continues : “ The sage has in the world an appearance of indecision, and keeps his mind in a state of indifference ”. Whatever this may mean, it is surely back at

¹ Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix, 1891, p. 91.

² Cf. Wells Williams' rendering : “ He who is good, I would meet with goodness ; and he who is not good, I would still also meet with goodness ; (for) *teh* (i.e. virtue) is goodness. He who is sincere I would meet with sincerity ; and he who is insincere, I would still also meet with sincerity ; (for) *teh* is sincerity ” (*The Middle Kingdom*, ii, 1883, p. 210).

once in the realm of detachment. If the Taoist sage believed that the force of his example would influence others, that was to him rather the effect of his example than its motive and inspiration.

I am therefore far from sharing the common view that Lao-tzŭ rose to a greater height than Confucius. Thus Moore says: ¹ “‘To recompense injury with kindness’ is the way of the Tao. This principle, which rises as high above the Confucian ‘reciprocity’ as Matt. 5, 44-48 does above the ‘Golden Rule’, is not an *obiter dictum* of Lao-tse, but is the logical consequence of his fundamental axioms.” Confucius was eager to promote the principles of righteousness in all the relationships of life, because he was fundamentally interested in human well-being and happiness. Lao-tzŭ believed that the sage should be interested in his own well-being and happiness alone, and that they were best secured by the limitation of desire, and not by the enlargement of achievement. For all the formal beauty of the maxim, therefore, the hollowness of its spirit is a sufficient explanation of its failure to exercise any profound influence on China.

Nor is this all. It is equally important to observe that the maxim is entirely unrelated to any religious thought or teaching. It is disputed whether Lao-tzŭ uttered any specifically religious teaching at all. Giles attributes to him a genuine theism, by rendering the term *T'ien* = *Heaven by God*. But Legge objects ² to the rendering, and says that “neither Lâo nor Kwang (i.e. Chuang-tzŭ, the great interpreter of Taoism) ever attached anything like our idea of God to it; and when one, in working on books of early Tâoist literature, translates *thien* by God, such a rendering must fail to produce in an English reader a correct apprehension of the meaning”. Similarly Maclagan says: ³ “In some instances of its use a near approach is made to what we mean by Heaven when we use it as equivalent to Providence. In this, its highest, use it is not merely the physical sky, but a power supreme in the world of visible things obscurely connected with the sky, which is the supreme exemplar

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix, pp. 17 ff.

³ In Hastings' *E.R.E.*, xii, 1921, p. 198b.

of *Tao*, but, even so, posterior and subordinate to it. *Tao* is to Lao-tse the ultimate and determining fact." A vague belief in Providence is quite other than a real belief in a personal God, with whom men can come into living relationship, and whose resources are available to enable them to fulfil His revealed will.

There is one passage, and one passage only, in the *Tao Tê Ching*, where another term for God, this time the definitely personal term *Ti*, is used. This is in iv. 3 : ¹ " I do not know whose son it (i.e. *Tao*) is. It might appear to have been before God (*Ti*). " It is impossible to build on such a reference any proof that Lao-tzŭ cherished any true Theism. For the mere belief that there is a God, expressed in so casual a way, is insufficient to make Lao-tzŭ a religious teacher, or to give his teaching the value of a religion. So far as we know, he was not in the least interested in any of the forms of religion, or in leading men to seek and to know God.

" Of a personal God ", says Douglas, ² " Laou-tsze knew nothing, as far as we may judge from the *Taou-tih king* ; and indeed a belief in such a being would be in opposition to the whole tenour of his philosophy. There is no room for a supreme God in his system. " Similarly Moore observes : ³ " Of religion in the common acceptance of the word Lao-tse says nothing. Forms of worship, to the correctness of which Confucius attached so much importance, in so far as they were an effort to influence the course of nature in man's favour, were, upon Taoist principles, like the efforts of the practical statesman and reformer, vain and impertinent. " It is true that Taoism has become a religion, but that religion is quite other than the Taoism of Lao-tzŭ. It is true also that the mystic identification of the follower of Lao-tzŭ with the *Tao*, the ultimate principle of the universe, was not unassociated with the religious instinct. It offered beatific peace, not strength for service, and therefore at the best it sought to maintain one element only, though an important element, of the full religious life ; and even this element it sought to maintain without a God. Of a

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix, p. 50.

² *Confucianism and Taoism*, 1879, p. 211.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

genuinely religious motive and power for the returning of good for evil, or for any altruistic service, Lao-tzŭ is silent.

II

When we turn to Confucius, we find a specific repudiation of the principle "Recompense injury with kindness", but more than one utterance which is akin in form to the Golden Rule.

In *Analects*, xiv. 36, a passage to which reference has already been made, we read :¹ "Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?' The Master said, 'With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.'" Legge comments that Confucius here falls below the standard of Lao-tzŭ, but it has been maintained above that this is not really so. Confucius's stiff insistence on a correct attitude, marked by the strictest justice, aimed doubtless to preserve moral standards which might seem to be menaced by Lao-tzŭ's lack of differentiation. Had Lao-tzŭ's teaching been based on love, it would have transcended justice, but as it was based rather on indifference to others and a fundamental selfishness, it fell far short of justice. There is some evidence, indeed, that Confucius understood the saying to be based on nothing higher than selfishness, and grounded his rejection of it on this. For in the *Li Chi*, xxix. 12, where the same subject is dealt with, we read :² "The Master said, 'They who return kindness for injury are such as have a regard for their own persons'", i.e. people who are thinking only of their own interests and security.

There is another story of Confucius, preserved by Han Ying, which Legge translates :³ "Tsze-lŭ said, 'When men are good to me, I will also be good to them ; when they are not good to me, I will also be not good to them'. Tsze-kung said, 'When men are good to me, I will also be good to them ; when they are not good to me, I will simply lead them on, forwards it may be or backwards'. Yen Hui said, 'When men

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, 1893, p. 288.

² Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxviii, 1885, p. 332.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxix, p. 92.

are good to me, I will also be good to them ; when they are not good to me, I will still be good to them '. The views of the three disciples being thus different, they referred the point to the Master, who said, ' The words of Tsze-lû are such as might be expected among the (wild tribes of the) Man and the Mo ; those of Tsze-kung, such as might be expected among friends ; those of Hui, such as might be expected among relatives and near connexions '." Whether this story is apocryphal or genuine cannot be known, but if it be genuine, Legge's comment that " the Master was still far from Lâo-tsze's standpoint, and that of his own favourite disciple, Yen Hui " seems hardly justified.

Other similar pronouncements of Confucius on the opinions of these three disciples are recorded, in which Hui comes off with the Master's approval, and it seems probable that the Master was here expressing his approval. For it is far less likely that Confucius meant that all these three principles would be equally appropriate in different circumstances, than that he was appraising the relative worth of the principles, and placing Yen Hui's above the others, since it was a carrying into all life of the spirit which belonged to life at its highest.

But whether the approval of Confucius be assumed or not, the incident, if genuine, would show that Yen Hui was not behind Lao-tzû in the form of his utterance, and definitely before him in its substance. For the stories that are recorded of Yen Hui reveal a spirit gentle and unselfish, modest and self-effacing, filled with the Master's own desire to spread the principles whereby men and nations might live indeed. Tzû-lu was ever impetuous and ambitious for glory and ostentation, while Yen Hui was quite indifferent to these considerations, uncomplaining in adversity, and only eager to be of service to men.

A single story will illustrate the superiority of his spirit to anything Lao-tzû ever attained. It is recorded that Confucius once asked these three disciples to define their ambitions. Tzû-lu at once craved for military glory, and Tzû-kung for oratorical distinction, but Yen Hui said, " I should like to find an intelligent king and sage ruler whom I might assist. I would diffuse among the people instructions on the five great points,

and lead them on by the rules of propriety and music, so that they should not care to fortify their cities by walls and moats, but would fuse their swords and spears into implements of agriculture. They should send forth their flocks without fear into the plains and forests. There should be no sundering of families, no widows or widowers. For a thousand years there would be no calamity of war. Yü (i.e. Tzŭ-lu) would have no opportunity to display his bravery, or Ts'ze (i.e. Tzŭ-kung) to display his oratory." It is not surprising that we read that Confucius pronounced this virtue admirable.¹ In the context of this character, the above recorded utterance of Yen Hui goes far beyond that for which Lao-tzŭ has received much unmerited praise.

In *Analects*, v. 11, we read : ² "Tsze-kung said, 'What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men'. The Master said, 'Ts'ze, you have not attained to that'." In *Analects*, xii. 2 : ³ "Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue (*jên*). The Master said, 'It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest ; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice ; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself ; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family'." In *Analects*, xv. 23 again : ⁴ "Tsze-kung asked, saying, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?' The Master said, 'Is not reciprocity (*shu*) such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others'." Again in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, xiii. 3, we have : ⁵ "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity (*shu*), he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others." Finally, in the *Great Learning*, Commentary x. 2, we find : ⁶ "What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors ; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors ; what he hates in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, 1893, pp. 112 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 373 f.

him ; what he hates in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him ; what he hates to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left ; what he hates to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right ; this is what is called ' The principle with which, as with a measuring-square, to regulate one's conduct ' ”.

There are two other passages containing the word *shu*, which deserve to be noted, though there Legge translates it differently. The first¹ is *Analects*, iv. 15 : “ The Master said, ‘ Shān, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity ’. The disciple Tsāng replied, ‘ Yes ’. The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, saying, ‘ What do his words mean ? ’ Tsāng said, ‘ The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature (*chung*) and the benevolent exercise of them to others (*shu*),—this and nothing more ’.” Here it would be equally possible to translate by the words which Legge elsewhere uses for *chung* and *shu* : “ The Master's teaching is wholly summed up in faithfulness (*chung*) and reciprocity (*shu*) ”, and the meaning is excellently brought out by Couvreur : ² “ Toute la sagesse de notre maître consiste à se perfectionner soi-même et à aimer les autres comme soi-même ”.

The other is in the *Great Learning*, Commentary ix. 4, where Legge renders : ³ “ On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them.” Here once more the presence of *shu* is disguised. It is again brought out by Couvreur : ⁴ “ Un prince sage, avant d'exiger une chose des autres, la pratique d'abord lui-même ; avant de reprendre un défaut dans les autres, il a soin de l'éviter lui-même. Un homme qui ne sait pas mesurer et traiter les autres avec la même mesure que lui-même, ne peut pas les instruire.”

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, 1893, pp. 169 f.

² *Les Quatres Livres*, 2nd ed., 1910, pp. 104 f.

³ *Chinese Classics*, i, p. 371.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

It should, however, be noted that Soothill objects to Legge's rendering of *shu* by *reciprocity*, and maintains ¹ that it "seems to mean more than this, for reciprocity means, Do as you are done by, whereas 'shu' suggests the idea of following one's better nature, that is, Be generous". As against this, however, we may observe that Legge does not understand reciprocity to mean 'Do as you are done by', but 'Do as you would be done by', and this interpretation is not really Legge's, but is explicitly stated in the above quoted passage from the *Doctrine of the Mean*. It must therefore be accepted as the authoritative Confucian interpretation of the term.

It will be observed that the Golden Rule, in its negative form, is not merely a casual utterance of the Sage's, but a fundamental principle. This is quite clear from its repeated enunciation. In the first of the above-quoted instances, it is found on the lips of a disciple, but all of the other cases are in sayings attributed to Confucius himself, except that from the *Great Learning*. This work is of doubtful authorship, but it is believed to reflect the teachings of Confucius faithfully.² In any case its evidence is here only confirmatory of what is so well evidenced in other passages.

Giles equates ³ the Golden Rule of Confucius with that of Christ, and will have none of the common distinction on the ground of its negative form. Legge, on the other hand, emphasizes ⁴ the negative character of the Confucian maxim, as against the positive character of the New Testament form. Elsewhere, however, he notes ⁵ that its occurrence in the *Doctrine of the Mean* is immediately followed by the rule virtually in its positive form. This passage is therefore worth quoting: ⁶ "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which I have as yet attained.—To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince, as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother, as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving

¹ *Three Religions of China*, p. 34.

² Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, p. 27.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me : to this I have not attained ". In view of this passage, it would seem to be unfair to lay any emphasis on the negative form of the Golden Rule in the Confucian Classics, and it should be understood to mean " Treat others as you would like to be treated by them if your positions were reversed ". And surely this is exactly what Jesus meant by the Golden Rule.

It has been already said, however, that the equation of the form does not necessarily involve the equation of the content, and Legge draws a further distinction¹ on the ground that whereas " the rule of Christ is for man as man, having to do with other men, all with himself on the same platform ", Confucius " did not think of the reciprocity coming into action beyond the circle of his five relations of society ". This, I believe, is a sound distinction, though Legge immediately undermines it by adding :² " Possibly, he might have required its observance in dealings even with the rude tribes, which were the only specimens of mankind besides his own countrymen of which he knew anything ". Surely no man can be expected to legislate for hypothetical relationships that lie beyond the world of his experience, and if he lays down a principle which he declares is to be applied to every relationship of life of which he has cognizance, and which is equally capable of being applied to wider relationships which lie beyond his horizon, it may fairly be treated as an inherently universal principle. It is, however, doubtful if Confucius gave it universal application within the world he knew. The only passage to which Legge appeals to justify his suggestion that Confucius might have applied the principle of reciprocity to dealings with the rude tribes, does not seem to bear out the suggestion. This passage is *Analects*, xiii. 19 :³ " Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue (*jén*). The Master said, ' It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave ; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive ; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere (*chung*). Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected '."

That Confucius contemplated *chung*, which is here rendered

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, pp. 109 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

by *sincerity*, but which is normally rendered by *faithfulness*, being applied in relationships with the rude tribes does not necessarily imply that *shu* was of like application. Elsewhere the virtues of faithfulness (*chung*) and sincerity (*hsin*) are frequently inculcated, and in *Analects*, xv. 5, it is clearly indicated that these are of universal application: ¹ "The Master said, 'Let his (i.e. a man's) words be sincere (*chung*) and truthful (*hsin*) and his actions honourable and careful;—such conduct may be practised among the rude tribes of the South or the North. If his words be not sincere and truthful, and his actions not honourable and careful, will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighbourhood?' " Again, in *Analects*, xiv. 13 ² the virtue of the complete man (*ch'êng jên*) is defined in terms of righteousness, courage and faithfulness, as exemplified in the loyal observance of a long-standing agreement: "The man, who in the view of gain thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends:—such a man may be reckoned a complete man".

Shu, or *reciprocity*, however, would seem to be limited in the Confucian view to the five relations of society. These are defined most clearly in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which is believed to have been written by the grandson of Confucius, and which may be accepted as of reliable authority. The passage is in xx. 8: ³ "The duties of universal obligation are five, and the virtues wherewith they are practised are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation." Within the limits of these relationships a man has special ties, and reciprocity is to prevail. But beyond these relationships, which far from cover all the relationships within a single community, and therefore well within the experience of Confucius, there is, as Legge observes, nothing to indicate that the principle of reciprocity had any validity for the sage. Certainly there is nowhere in the

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, pp. 295 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 279 f

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 406 f.

records of the teaching of Confucius any suggestion that its validity could extend even to enemies. Its range is therefore more limited than the range of Christ's principle, and despite the formal equation of the words of Confucius and of Christ, their sayings cannot really be equated.

The superiority of Confucius to Lao-tzŭ, however, can be illustrated at every turn. He had a far greater interest in his fellow-men, and his whole conception of virtue was of an active force of beneficence in the world. Thus, in *Analects*, vi. 28, we read : ¹ " Now the man of perfect virtue (*jên*), wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others ; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others " ; in *Analects*, xii. 16 : ² " The Master said, ' The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities ' ". Moreover, as against Lao-tzŭ's fundamental indifference to men, Confucius inculcates love for men. To this, however, we shall return below, in the discussion of Mo-tzŭ.

Again, that Confucius held a truly altruistic view of virtue is illustrated in his interest in the principles of good government. He is ever eager to promote the principles which he believed would entail peace, prosperity and happiness for mankind in general.

As to the power on which he relied for the carrying out of his principles, Confucius again shows a definite advance on Lao-tzŭ, but falls far short of Christ. He relied to an extravagant extent on the force of example. Thus, in *Analects*, iv. 25, we find : ³ " The Master said, ' Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practises it will have neighbours ' " ; in *Analects*, xii. 1 : ⁴ " Chî K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the State, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, ' If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal ' " ; and in the *Great Learning*, Commentary x. 21 : ⁵ " Never has there been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of the sovereign have not been carried to completion. And never has there been a case where the wealth in such a State, collected in the treasuries and arsenals, did not continue in the sovereign's possession."

That the force of example is real may readily be allowed, but it is a lamentably inadequate view of human nature which supposes that men have only to see the good to desire it and to achieve it, and that they are inherently prone to follow a noble example. Ovid showed a deeper understanding of the fundamental problem when he wrote *Metamorphoses*, vii. 20 f. : *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. Paul, too, recognized the need for some greater resources of power than a man can find in himself, or in the ideal that is set before him, when he wrote Rom. vii. 19 : "The good that I would I do not ; but the evil that I would not, that I do". Of any spiritual source of strength, Confucius knew nothing.

Though the more personal name for God, *Shang Ti*, or *Ti*, is not found on the lips of Confucius anywhere in the *Analects*, where it stands only in an utterance attributed to T'ang in xx. 1, and stands in the *Great Learning* only in a single quotation from the *Book of the Odes* in Commentary x. 5, it is found once on the Master's lips in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, xix. 6. Ordinarily, however, he preferred to use the term *T'ien*. On the lips of Confucius this seems to have meant something more than the impersonal force behind the universe, or even Providence, and to have denoted a conscious and purposive Power that was cognizant of human affairs. Thus he says in *Analects*, xiv. 37 : ¹ "Is it not Heaven that knows me ?" ; and in *Analects*, iii. 13 : ² "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray" ; while in *Analects*, ix. 5, we read : ³ "The Master was put in fear in K'wang. He said, 'After the death of King Wăn, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me ? If Heaven had

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 289. The translation is not here, as normally above, that of Legge, but follows the more literal rendering he gives in his note. So Couvreur (*op. cit.*, p. 233) : "Celui qui me connaît, n'est-ce pas le Ciel ?".

² Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 217 f.

wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me ? ' ' ' ; and again in *Analects*, vii. 22 : ¹ " The Master said, ' Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Huan T'ûi (from whom the sage stood in some danger)—what can he do to me ? ' ' "

In addition to this recognition of Heaven, Confucius recognized the existence of other spiritual beings, as well as the continued existence of ancestors, and their worship has a definite place in his practice and teaching. But it rested, as will be seen, on no truly religious interest. Confucius had no interest in the character of God, and Legge describes him ² as 'unreligious', while Moore well observes ³ that it is "the absence of any teaching about the nature of these 'spiritual beings' and their relations to men that is significant". Nor is the evidence merely negative. We are told, indeed, in *Analects*, vii. 20 ⁴ that "the subjects on which the Master did not talk were—extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings". But beyond this we are told that he positively warned his followers to keep aloof from spiritual beings. For *Analects*, vi. 20, says : ⁵ "The Master said, 'To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom' ' ' "

It is true, as has been noted, that Confucius was deeply interested in the performance of religious ceremonies, but his interest lay solely in the forms of worship as ancient ceremonies that should be maintained to preserve the proprieties of life, and not as spiritual means of grace. In the one passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean* where he himself mentions God, it is not God, but religious ceremony, that holds the centre of his interest, and that but as the expression of filial piety and the key to effective government. Speaking of King Wu and the Duke of Chou, whose filial piety was shown in their repair of ancestral

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 202.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴ Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

temples and the offering of due sacrifices, he says in xix. 6 :¹ " By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God (*Ti*), and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temples they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm."

Once more, therefore, we fail to find any genuinely religious motive or power for the practice of the principle of reciprocity. Soothill says :² " The whole code of Confucius resembles the wintry silver of the moon rather than the golden glow and warmth of the sun "; and again :³ " His own writings, as well as those of his disciples, lack that throbbing pulse of divinity which has made the history, poetry, and soul-inspiring prophecy of the Old Testament live with perennial vitality "; while Wieger sums up⁴ the demand of Confucius on the superior man as being a demand for " la neutralité de l'esprit et la froideur du cœur ". In such a context the Golden Rule becomes quite other than the Golden Rule of Jesus.

III

The precise date of Mo-tzū cannot be determined, but it is certain that he falls somewhere between Confucius and Mencius. Legge places him⁵ very little before the time of Mencius, while Wieger is of the opinion⁶ that he probably died before 400 B.C. This is in accordance with the view of Hu Shih,⁷ who assigns him the years 500-420 B.C. Z. L. Yih follows this and says⁸ that he lived ' somewhere between 500-416 B.C. ', while Forke⁹ puts him but slightly later at 480-400 B.C. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao goes somewhat later still,¹⁰ from 466-459 B.C. to 390-382 B.C., and is followed substantially by Williamson¹¹

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 404.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Chinese Classics*, 2nd ed., ii, 1895, p. 100.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁷ *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, 1928, p. 56.

⁸ ' Introduction to Mo-tzu ' in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, 1923, pp. 612-619.

⁹ *Mê Ti*, 1922, p. 27.

¹⁰ Cf. Mei, *Motse : the Neglected Rival of Confucius*, 1934, p. 31.

¹¹ *Mo Ti : a Chinese Heretic*, 1927, p. 1.

and Holth,¹ who assign him the years 468-382 B.C., while Y. P. Mei, after a careful re-examination of the evidence, arrives at the same conclusion,² but 'for convenience of memory' uses the dates 470-391 B.C.

Mo-tzū was a strong critic of Confucianism, and he in turn was criticized by Mencius, who condemned him in the same breath with the egoist Yang Chu, whose teachings were the very antithesis of Mo-tzū's. For centuries Mo-tzū suffered neglect, and his works, though in part preserved, underwent much disorder of text. In modern times they have attracted much attention in China, and they are now attracting increasing attention in the West. Legge translated the chapters on Universal Love (*chien ai*, or *chien hsiang ai*) into English,³ but it is only in recent years that fuller translations have been available to western readers. A French translation of some passages, based on Legge so far as the chapters on Universal Love are concerned, was published in 1907 by Alexandra David,⁴ and a complete translation in German by Forke appeared in 1922.⁵ A complete translation in English, by Y. P. Mei, has now appeared.⁶ The translations of extracts that stand below, instead of being normally Legge's, as in the case of extracts from the Confucian classics above, will be based on these various renderings, but will not exactly follow any.

There is no precise verbal parallel to the Golden Rule in the teachings of Mo-tzū. Nevertheless, he approaches much nearer to the spirit of that Rule than either Lao-tzū or Confucius.⁷ Williamson says : ⁸ " It has often been said that Chinese ethical

¹ *Micius*, 1935, p. 10. The form Micius, for Mo-tzū, is used by some writers, on the analogy of Confucius, for K'ung-tzū. Others prefer to use his name Mo Ti, instead of Mo-tzū, which means 'the philosopher Mo'. The great variety of romanizations of these words may at first puzzle the reader. I have throughout the paper employed the standard romanization of Wade, employed by modern English lexicographers, except in quotations.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

³ *Chinese Classics*, ii, pp. 101-116.

⁴ *Le philosophe Meh-ti et l'idée de Solidarité*.

⁵ *Mé Ti, des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke*.

⁶ *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*, 1929.

⁷ Cf. Forke (*op. cit.*, p. 41): " Jedenfalls steht er dem Christentum sehr viel näher als Konfuzius ".

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

philosophy affords no instance of the Golden Rule, except perhaps the negative form in which that Rule is enunciated by Confucius, but it would seem that Mo-tzŭ's words mean much the same as Christ's ". Similarly Mei says ¹ of his teaching on Universal Love: "It may also be regarded as a concrete expression of the Christian Golden Rule".

Mo-tzŭ traced the ills of society to the want of mutual love amongst men, and he advocated a love that should embrace all alike. In chapter xiv (Universal Love, I) he says: ² "If universal mutual love (*chien hsiang ai*) prevailed throughout the world, if men loved others as themselves, would anyone be unfilial? When every one regarded his father, elder brother, and emperor as himself, towards whom could he be unfilial? . . . Would there be any thieves or robbers? When every man regarded the homes of others as his own home, who would steal? When every man regarded the persons of others as his own person, who would rob? . . . Would there be mutual discord among the families of the great, or mutual aggression amongst states of the princes? When every man regarded the families of others as his own, who would create discord? When every man regarded the states of others as his own, who would initiate aggression?"

This is one of the principal, fundamental doctrines of Mo-tzŭ, to which three parallel chapters, with a considerable element of repetition, are devoted. In one of its developments we have an interesting reminder of the parable of Matt. xxv. 31-46. This is in chapter xvi (Universal Love, III), where we read: ³ "Suppose there are two men, one of whom adopts the principle of making distinctions (*pieh*), and the other of whom adopts the principle of universality (*chien*). The advocate of distinctions will say, 'How can I be for my friend's person as for my own, how for my friend's parents as for my own?' Hence, if he sees his friend in hunger, he will not feed him; if he sees

¹ *Motse: the Neglected Rival*, p. 92.

² Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, ii, p. 102; Mei, *Works of Motse*, pp. 79 f.; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.; Forke, *op. cit.*, pp. 242 f.

³ Cf. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Mei, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 f.; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f.; Forke, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 f.

him cold, he will not clothe him ; if he finds him sick, he will not minister to him ; if dead, he will not bury him. Such is the language, and such the conduct of the advocate of the principle of distinctions. Quite other will be the language and the conduct of the advocate of universality. He will say, ' I have heard that he who would be great amongst men should be for his friend as for himself, for his friend's parents as for his own, and only so can he become great amongst men '. Hence, if he sees his friend in hunger, he will feed him ; if he sees him cold, he will clothe him ; if he finds him sick, he will minister to him ; if dead, he will bury him. Such is the language, and such the conduct of the advocate of universality."

It might seem at first sight that this illustration is narrower in its range than the New Testament parable referred to, since it deals merely with one's friend. A closer view shows that this is not really so. When Mencius criticized the teaching of Mo-tzū, it was precisely on the ground that the universalizing of love abolished all the distinctions of the five relationships, on which Confucianism laid such emphasis, and that it threatened the carefully regulated affections due to those who are especially near to us. In Mencius III, i. 9, we read :¹ " Mo's principle is—' to love all equally (*chien ai*) ', which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. . . . If the principles of . . . Mo be not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness."

Actually, Mo-tzū was replying in advance to this criticism in the passage above-quoted. What he is arguing is that a love which is all-embracing will include those who are near, and will express itself in relation to them as fully as Confucian principles would demand. Mo-tzū teaches that love for all should be levelled up to the highest level required by Confucianism for those who have the greatest claim upon us. It does not fall below Confucianism, therefore, but goes far beyond it in universalizing its most exacting demands. While, there-

¹ Legge, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 f.

fore, Mo-tzŭ does not formulate any principle verbally similar to the Golden Rule, he does formulate a principle verbally similar to the maxim "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself", where 'neighbour' is given the universal sense of the New Testament parable of the Good Samaritan.

It is sometimes said, as by Bullock,¹ that Confucius taught that one should love all men, and Rawlinson quotes² from a Chinese writer of the eighth century A.D., Han Yü, who says: "When Confucius speaks of 'overflowing in love' to all and cultivating the friendship of the good, and of how the extensive conferring of benefits constituted a sage, does he not teach universal love?" It is therefore necessary to ask wherein Mo-tzŭ's doctrine differed from that of Confucius. The first passage to which appeal may be made for the teaching of Confucius on this subject is that to which Han Yü refers, *Analects*, i. 6:³ "The Master said, 'A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all (*fan ai chung*), and cultivate the friendship of the good.'" Again, in *Analects*, xii. 22, we read:⁴ "Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence (*jên*). The Master said, 'It is to love all men'."

It is interesting to observe that Mencius declared in the above-quoted passage that Mo-tzŭ's doctrine of universal love (*chien ai*) threatened the foundations of benevolence (*jên*). Clearly, therefore, he did not regard the Master as having taught any comparable doctrine as the very expression of benevolence. In truth, however, the crucial word *all*, which Legge has imported into his rendering of *Analects*, xii. 22, does not stand in the Chinese text, and what Confucius said to Fan Ch'ih was simply "It is to love men". What he had in mind was certainly a love governed by the relationships of the fivefold duty, as he quite explicitly shows elsewhere.

Before we turn to that passage, however, we may observe that *Analects*, i. 6, to which Han Yü appeals, is a lesson to the

¹ In Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v, 1912, p. 466a.

² *Chinese Recorder*, lxiii, 1932, p. 94, in an article on 'The Ethical Values of Micius'. Cf. Forke, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i, p. 140.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

young in manners, and that it contemplates something quite other than Mo-tzū's principle of love. It is rather an injunction to a young man to bear himself agreeably towards all men, as becomes his youth.

There is another important passage in the opening sentence of the text of the *Great Learning*, which we may also examine before turning to the crucial passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, though the orthodox interpretation does not associate it with our present subject. Here Legge, following the orthodox Chinese view, renders: ¹ "What the Great Learning teaches is—to illustrate illustrious virtue (*míng míng té*); to renovate the people (*hsin min*); and to rest in the highest excellence (*chih yü chih shan*)". The Chinese text, however, has *ch'in min* = *to love the people*, for which *hsin min* is substituted by the orthodox in reading and interpreting the passage. Legge, in his note, rejects the substitution as unsatisfactory, and has no doubt that what the passage really taught was love for the people. This view has not been unknown amongst Chinese commentators, who have not all followed the orthodox path. It appears in a modern commentary in the spoken language, *Ssü Shu Pai Hua Chieh Shuo*, whose fourteen volumes, exhibiting considerable acquaintance with foreign thought as well as Chinese, are said to have been written by a nine year old boy, Chiang Hsi-chang, who is in consequence called *Shên-t'ung* = the divine, or prodigious, child.² Even if we follow the reading *ch'in*, however, this passage is of little importance for our present purpose, since it is clear, as Legge says,³ that the *Great Learning* was designed to give instruction to a ruler. While it contains some instruction of general application, this particular teaching is manifestly intended for the ruler, and it inculcates beneficent care for his people, rather than such a love as Mo-tzū had in mind.

We may now turn to the most important passage for the understanding of the Confucian conception of love's range and control. This stands in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, xx. 5: ⁴

¹ *Chinese Classics*, p. 356.

² My copy of this work was given to me by the boy's father.

³ *Chinese Classics*, i. p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 405 f.

"Benevolence (*jén*) is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives ¹ (*ch'in ch'in wei ta*). Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honouring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honour due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety." It has already been said that the *Doctrine of the Mean* may be accepted as the work of the grandson of Confucius, and as giving an authoritative account of his principles. From this passage it is abundantly clear that Confucianism contemplated only a love which was severely controlled by the rules of propriety, and that its objects and its measure were to be strictly determined. It was precisely on this ground that Mo-tzŭ, who was a contemporary of the author of this work, opposed the Confucian teaching, and Mencius did not misunderstand the Master in contending for it.

The surviving recension of the chapter of Mo-tzŭ devoted to a polemic against Confucianism, chapter xxxix, begins : ² "The Confucianist says, 'Love among relatives should depend on the degree of kinship, and the honour due to the worthy should be graded'. This is to advocate distinctions between the near and the distant relations, and between the exalted and the humble." It is clear that Mo-tzŭ did, and Confucius did not, teach a genuinely universal love.

Moreover, it was no merely academic teaching. Mo-tzŭ practised the love he preached. His critic Mencius, in VII, i. 26, said of him : ³ "The philosopher Mo loves all equally (*chien ai*). If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the whole kingdom, he would have done it." It is recorded that on one occasion, on hearing that a war was about to break out between two of the small states of China, Mo-tzŭ travelled from his home to the scene, journeying for ten days and nights without rest, with his feet blistered and his clothes torn to shreds to provide bandages for

¹ The character *ch'in* may mean *parents* or *relatives*. In the second quotation from Mo-tzŭ given above, it is rendered *parents*, where it might equally have been given the wider reference. The sequel here demands the wider reference.

² Cf. Mei, *Works of Motse*, p. 200 ; Forke, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

³ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, ii, pp. 464 f.

them, and then interviewed the aggressor and persuaded him to abandon the enterprise—not indeed by moral suasion alone, but by convincing him that his own science of defence was more than a match for the aggressor's science of offence, and that his skill would be freely offered to the attacked.¹

Clearly, Mo-tzū exemplified in himself the spirit of service through sacrifice. He also demanded it of his disciples. Nor did he demand it in vain. Williamson says :² “ Their self-denial and sacrifice were such as to lead such an authority as Liang Ch'i Ch'ao to say, ‘ Their self-sacrifice is equal to that of Christ and His disciples ’ ”. The same Chinese authority says of Mo-tzū :³ “ In his willingness to endure hardship he is truly like Christ. If men had nailed him to a cross, he would certainly not have regretted it, but would have endured it with a smile.” An ancient Chinese writer, the Taoist Chuang-tzū, paid equally high tribute to Mo-tzū and his followers in these words :⁴ “ The idea of Mo Tî and Khin Hwa-lî was good, but their practice was wrong. They would have made the Mohists of future ages feel it necessary to toil themselves, till there was not a hair on their legs, and still be urging one another on ; (thus producing a condition) superior indeed to disorder, but inferior to the result of good government. Nevertheless, Mo-tsze was indeed one of the best men in the world, which you may search without finding his equal. Decayed and worn (his person) might be, but he is not to be rejected—a scholar of ability indeed ! ”

It is when we turn to examine the motive power to which Mo-tzū looks to bring in the age of universal mutual love that we find once more the real differences between him and Christ. Mo-tzū believed that men had but to see this universal love in practice to desire it. If a ruler would but display it, even men who objected to the principle would flock to him. In chapter xvi (Universal Love, III), he says :⁵ “ I consider that there is no man on earth so foolish, even though he condemns the

¹ Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 24. ² *Ibid.*, p. 31. ³ Cf. Holth, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴ Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, xl, 1891, p. 221.

⁵ Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, ii, p. 112 ; Mei, *Works of Motse*, p. 92 ; David, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ; Forke, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

principle of universal love, as not to prefer a ruler who embraces it"; and again in chapter xv (Universal Love, II):¹ "When a man loves others, they love him in return; when a man profits others, they profit him in return". This, as Legge observes,² shows real ignorance of human nature. Nor did he really understand the nature of love. For in chapter xvi (Universal Love, III), he says:³ "If superiors delighted in it, and promoted it by rewards and praise, and discouraged its opposite by punishments and fines, I believe people would move towards universal mutual love and the mutual sharing of benefits, as fire rises upwards and water flows downwards". But love is not created by punishments, and cannot be compelled by a monarch.

The third constraint to which Mo-tzŭ looked was self-interest. It was because he rightly saw that the way of mutual love would be the way of mutual profit that he hoped to be able to persuade men to adopt it. *Chiao hsiang li*, or the mutual sharing of profit, is as fundamental a concept of his philosophy as *chien hsiang ai*, or universal mutual love. The very love that he inculcated rested therefore on a basis of selfishness. And selfishness is the antithesis and denial of love. This was clearly perceived by Mencius's younger contemporary Hsün-tzŭ, who observed:⁴ "Micius was prejudiced towards utility and did not know the elegancies of life. . . . For if we consider life from the standpoint of utility, it will merely be seeking for profit." It is by a strange irony that desire for gain should have been a cardinal element of the philosophy of one who practised sacrifice for others to a rare degree with a fine disregard for any gain he might himself receive.

Mo-tzŭ is notably distinguished from both Lao-tzŭ and

¹ Cf. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Mei, *op. cit.*, p. 84; David, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Forke, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

³ Cf. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Mei, *op. cit.*, p. 97; David, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Forke, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁴ Chapter xxi; translation of Dubs, *The Works of Hsüntze*, 1928, p. 264. Kennedy (*Chinese Recorder*, lxii, 1931, p. 696) quotes a better rendering, but does not indicate its source: "Mo-tze's one-sided doctrine of utility made him ignore the significance of culture and refinement. When utilitarianism prevails, the Tao is lost in commercialism".

Confucius in that his principle is associated with his religion. Confucius was interested in ethics and politics, and in so far as he was religious, his religion was a thing separate and apart, and not the spring and fount of his teaching. But with Mo-tzŭ it is different. Wiegier describes him¹ as "le seul écrivain chinois dont on puisse penser qu'il crut en Dieu", and Hu Shih is of the opinion² that "he was the only Chinese who can truly be said to have founded a religion". His God was not the impersonal, or semi-personal, Power of the earlier sages we have dealt with, though he still used the term *T'ien*, but a beneficent Power, whose will for men was the ultimate basis of the love Mo-tzŭ taught. Williamson says:³ "The 'will of Heaven' was to him the ultimate and universal standard, by which everything was to be judged. His interpretation of the will of Heaven is of peculiar interest, in that, according to modern critics like Liang Ch'ï Ch'ao and Hu Shih, it permits of a personal interpretation. In fact, it would seem that the personal interpretation is the only one which meets the case."

Others, however, give a rather different complexion to the matter. Thus Mei believes⁴ that Mo-tzŭ's Heaven is just the deification of the principles he teaches, a deification that is intended to secure an added motive for their practice. He says:⁵ "Motse personified social values for their preservation and enhancement. He threw a religious halo around his fundamental ethical convictions, and lifted his doctrines to the commanding position of creeds, so that man could feel a closer tie with his fellow and that in loving men he was also doing the will of God."

A similar view has been taken by several other students of Mo-tzŭ. Thus Suzuki says:⁶ "The difference between the Christian God and Mu Ti's Heaven is that while the former made the conception of God foremost and its worship the paramount issue of the religious life, the latter conceded the first place to utilitarianism, for the execution of which the God idea became necessary to him". Similarly Holth says:⁷

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴ *Motse: the Neglected Rival*, pp. 149 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158. Cf. also Forke, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.

⁶ *Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy*, 1914, p. 100.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

"Micius, it must be admitted, was decidedly religious, but he can hardly claim to be considered as a founder of religion. . . . His religious convictions were made to support his main interest in the ethical and social relations of life." So, too, Wallace : ¹ "Motse's argument is always a utilitarianism, and the thing is then given an additional reference to Heaven, which is so nominal that the argument is not strengthened by it". And finally Kennedy : ² "He was interested in man's relationship with man, and he appealed to religious ideas to support his social suggestions".

Despite his apparent religious interest, therefore, these writers charge him with a fundamental irreligion, since, in their view, his religion is merely his own creation to be a buttress to his precepts. The same charge was made by David : ³ "Jamais le philosophe n'invoque, pour nous convaincre, que des motifs purement matériels et humains : le bon ordre social et, surtout, notre propre intérêt. C'eût été pourtant le cas, pour un esprit religieux, ou simplement quelque peu porté aux rêveries métaphysiques, de faire intervenir, dans un semblable sujet, des arguments extra-terrestres, tels que ceux sur lesquels s'appuie, par exemple, l'Épître de Paul aux Corinthiens. Mais non, génies, mânes ou l'empereur suprême (Chang-ti) ne jouent aucun rôle dans ces discours. Si l'on nous y propose l'imitation du Ciel 'dont les dons généreux se répandent sur tous' c'est uniquement pour nous donner un haut exemple, celui de la nature et nous ne pourrions, quelque désir que nous en ayons, rien y trouver qui ressemble au commandement d'une Puissance supérieure."

In spite of this heavy array, it seems to me more appropriate to err on the side of charity in discussing one whose fundamental doctrine was of love, and reasonable to credit him with a genuine belief in God, and a genuine belief that He is a God of love, who loves men, and desires that they should love one another, and a real conviction that in being an apostle of love he was serving as an apostle of God. But even so, as a religious teacher he is quite inadequate. For while the will of God might be

¹ *Chinese Recorder*, lxii, 1931, p. 560.

² *Ibid.*, p. 695.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 141 f.

revealed to men through the Sage, he does not call men into any direct relationship with God.¹ He neither calls forth their love to God, nor offers them any spring of divine power for the fulfilment of the demands he makes on them. "He presents no direct teaching as to the person or character of God, his attributes or how he is to be conceived. The whereabouts of God, his spirituality, the problem of his goodness, and other problems with which we are accustomed to wrestle in the more highly developed doctrinal discussions of our Christian faith are not found here."²

It is clear, therefore, that among China's sages there is none who can offer a true parallel to the Golden Rule of the Gospels, and that when the content, motive and strength for the execution of the maxim or its supposed equivalents are examined, the widest differences at once appear.

IV

It would carry us too far to examine the Golden Rule of the Gospels fully in relation to the other teaching of Jesus, or to consider at length the motive for its acceptance as a way of life in the thought of Jesus, or the source of the power for its achievement to which He directed men. That it was a rule intimately and essentially associated with His specifically religious teaching no student of the New Testament will deny.

When Jesus taught that evil should be recompensed with good, He did it in the words "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. . . . Be ye therefore perfect—or, as Torrey renders it,³ 'all including (in your good will)'—even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 44 f., 48).

¹ Forke (*op. cit.*, p. 65) quotes a Japanese scholar, Koyanagi, who finds in Mo-tzü's teaching the twin weaknesses that his religion is negative, since his God was merely to be feared, and his universal love mere egoism, since it had ever one's own profit in mind.

² Wallace, *Chinese Recorder*, lxii, 1931, p. 557.

³ *The Four Gospels: a new translation*, 1933, p. 12; *Our Translated Gospels*, 1935, p. 92.

Again, the Lucan form of the Golden Rule is associated with similar inculcations of love that shall embrace enemies, and it leads up to the promise of the reward of a God-like character : " Ye shall be the children of the Highest ; for he is kind unto the unthankful and the evil " (Lk. vi. 35). Neither here nor in Matthew is it regarded as an isolated thing, an end in itself.

Commenting on the verse in Matthew, Durand observes : ¹ " La maxime de la 'réciprocité' en matière de service a sans doute un étroit rapport avec le précepte de la charité chrétienne, mais sans se confondre avec lui. Ici, nous n'avons qu'une règle d'ordre pratique, 'une mesure', comme il est dit dans le texte ; ou, tout au plus, un critère psychologique pour reconnaître l'étendue de nos devoirs envers autrui. On aurait tort d'y chercher le but ou même le mobile de notre dévouement, qui dès lors se ramènerait à l'égoïsme. En définitive, 'la règle d'or' n'est qu'une expression concrète du commandement : 'Tu aimeras ton prochain, comme toi-même'. Pourquoi et avec quelles dispositions intérieures un chrétien doit aimer, c'est ce que Notre-Seigneur a dit ailleurs (Mt. v, 43-48 ; xix, 19 ; xxii, 39 ; Lc. x, 29-37 ; Jn. xiii, 34)."

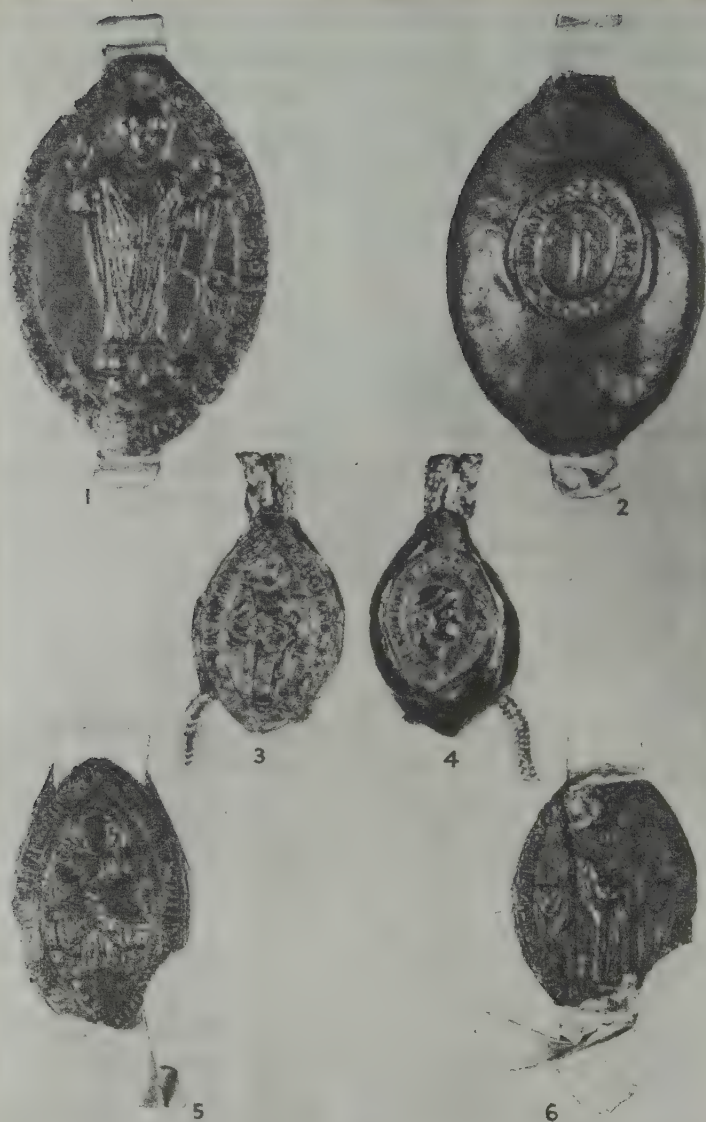
When Jesus teaches men to love their neighbours as themselves, He does more than lift a word out of the Old Testament and make it His own. He fills it with a content which is plainly surprising to His hearers, by interpreting it to include even the hated enemy (Lk. x. 25 ff.). But more than that. He makes it the corollary of a deeper love. In this passage His questioner is represented as culling from the Old Testament the two great commands 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God', and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. Elsewhere, Jesus Himself is represented as selecting these as the supreme commands (Mk. xii. 29 ff.). In both passages Jesus sets His approval upon the choice, and it is significant that He demands first of all a love for God that shall claim a man's whole being, his mind, his emotions, his will, his entire service. His love for his neighbour is the corollary of that love.

¹ *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (Verbum Salutis), 1938, p. 130.

Wallace compares Mo-tzŭ with Jesus in this. He says :¹ Mo-tzŭ's "most complete phrase on worship seems to be the one where he says that men of the highest order 'revere Heaven, worship the spirits and serve their fellowmen'. It reminds us of the great commandment given by Jesus : love God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." This is once more to equate words rather than their significance, and is especially surprising in one who, as above indicated, denies to Mo-tzŭ's religion any vital reality.

None could suppose that with Jesus God is a pale, impersonal, or semi-personal, Power, or could imagine that He might be a mere deification of the principles Jesus propounded. To Him God was intensely real and personal, a God whose lofty character was the inspiration and strength offered to men. He called men into relations of intimacy with this God, taught them to think of Him as Father, made His worship to mean for them not a mere matter of forms and ceremonies, but a rich fellowship of heart that should bring divine strength into their lives. It is in such a context that the Golden Rule of the New Testament, and its kindred teachings, are lifted far from any of the sayings of the Chinese sages, and the mere attention to verbal similarity misses the spirit in the letter.

¹ *Chinese Recorder*, lxii, 1931, p. 561.



1. HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS OF EASTBRIDGE, CANTERBURY (EARLY 13TH CENTURY).
 2. COUNTER-SEAL OF THE SAME. 3. WYMONDLEY PRIORY (13TH CENTURY).
 4. COUNTER-SEAL OF WILLIAM PRIOR OF WYMONDLEY. 5. ST. PETER'S CHURCH,
 BRISTOL (1400). 6. WALTER BURSTOK, ABBOT OF FORD, CO. DEVON (1300).

THE HATTON WOOD MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE valuable collection¹ of charters and deeds which forms the subject of the present description has been deposited in the John Rylands Library for safe custody by its owner, Captain J. Hatton Wood. It was accumulated by Captain Hatton Wood's great-uncle, the late Richard Henry Wood, an assiduous and discriminating collector of manuscripts who was associated for many years with Lancashire and Cheshire antiquarian studies. The son of Charles Wood, an Army officer and solicitor of Brazennose Street, Manchester, and Northen House, Northenden, Richard Henry Wood was born in Manchester in 1820. He resided in the North until 1874, in which year he moved to Rugby. To that town he gave a library and museum and he and his wife built a hospital there. It was during his residence at Rugby that Harrison Ainsworth dedicated his *Beau Nash* to him. Mr. Wood later moved to Sidmouth, Devonshire, where his last years were spent and where he died on 25th April, 1908. He was a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for the counties of Warwick and Merioneth and High Sheriff of the latter in 1895. His antiquarian tastes and his intimate friendship with James Crossley led him to take an active part in the management of the Chetham Society, of which body he was Honorary Secretary from 1868 to 1882 and for which he edited, in 1872, an interesting calendar of Cheshire contributors to the Queen's loan in 1597, from the original manuscript, which is in the present collection. In addition to being a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries Mr. Wood was

¹ The Library is greatly indebted to Professor James Tait for drawing attention to this collection and for his assistance in securing its deposit.

a corresponding member of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy and a member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society from its foundation in 1883. He possessed a gallery of valuable pictures, chiefly by old masters, a selection from which he left to Manchester City Art Gallery.¹

The collection of charters which he formed comprises some one thousand five hundred items, ranging in date from the early twelfth century to the eighteenth. A descriptive Hand-List is in process of compilation and the aim of the present article is merely to indicate the general scope of the collection and enumerate some of the principal items included. It falls into two main divisions: miscellaneous items acquired from various sources and deeds relating to the Legh family of Norbury Booths Hall, Cheshire. The extent of the latter portion is indicated below.² Of the former, which embraces most counties and includes a number of foreign items, several were presented to him by friends, including the well-known antiquaries Canon Raines, John Harland and Dr. Edward Holme. Others he purchased, either privately or at sales; among these, several monastic deeds, including a small group relating to Bedfordshire estates of Waltham Abbey, can be traced to the Stacey Grimaldi collection. The number of deeds relating to monastic houses is, in fact, one of the main features of this portion of the collection, Sempringham, Christ Church, Canterbury, Waltham and St. Werburgh's, Chester, being most fully represented. A number of royal charters³ from the time of Henry I downwards occur among these monastic items and elsewhere in the collection. Of the remaining items there are over two hundred charters and documents, mostly pre-1500, relating to Kent, and smaller groups relating to Gloucestershire (mostly Bristol), Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire and Lincolnshire; the rest are scattered throughout over twenty other counties. Two important documents which had been considered lost reappear in this collection, namely, the grant of May, 1396, by William and Mabel Toterigge bearing the extremely rare, if not unique, seal of an Abbot of

¹ See *Trans. of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. 26, pp. 185-186; *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, vol. x, pp. 171, 236, 277.

² Pp. 374-75.

³ *V. inf.*, pp. 357-58, 360-61, 364, 371, 375.

Ford,¹ and the grant of 1190 made by Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, to Turstan de Bapchild; the former was last known in 1875 when all trace of it was lost, the latter in 1782 when it was drawn on by Hasted for his *History of Kent*.² The collection is particularly rich in seals. Among ecclesiastical seals are those of Simon de Welles, Bishop of Chichester (1204/7), a large fragment, sufficient for description,³ and John Chaundeler, Bishop of Salisbury, who here uses (1418) the seal he used as Dean; ⁴ also the common seal of St. Peter's Church, Bristol (1460), of which apparently only one other example, dating from the following century, is known.⁵ Monastic seals, in addition to that of Ford already mentioned, include those of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Eastbridge, Canterbury (early 13th century)⁶ and Wymondley Priory (13th century)⁷ and the common seals of Melrose Abbey (1539) and Dryburgh Abbey (1546); all four are perfect specimens. Two seals of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (1190 and 13th century) also occur, with the counter-seals of the Priors.⁸ Among a number of unattached seals is the Third Seal of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury (15th century), a fine impression but unfortunately imperfect. The private seal (1364) of Simon de Brusele, Master of the Hospital of St. Mary at Dover, is also found. Local seals include those of the County Palatine of Chester (1411), an early example; of the mayoralties of Northampton (1503) and Coventry (1618); and of the bailiffs of Colchester (1546). The seal of the Fraternity of Kalendars of Bristol (1361) deserves special mention,⁹ as does the Statute Merchant Recognizance Seal of Salop (1369). Private seals, of equestrian, heraldic and miscellaneous design, are frequent, a number of them being twelfth century. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the equestrian seal of Robert, Count of Meulan (d. 1118), which has survived in a large fragment.¹⁰ Of heraldic seals the most perfect specimens include those of Richard de Brankescombe (1368), John Lestraunge, Lord of Knockin (1385), John de Cockerington (1386), John

¹ *V. inf.*, p. 362.² *V. inf.*, p. 363.³ *V. inf.*, p. 364.⁴ *V. inf.*, p. 374.⁵ *V. inf.*, p. 367.⁶ *V. inf.*, p. 358.⁷ *V. inf.*, p. 356.⁸ *V. inf.*, pp. 363-64.⁹ *V. inf.*, p. 368.¹⁰ *V. inf.*, p. 364. See Nichols, *Hist. Leic.*, I, i, App., p. 48 (charter) and pl. xiv, fig. 1.

Cheyne (1399), William, Lord Zouche (1430), Walter Norton of Bristol (1435), and Richard Dering of Pluckley, Kent (1480). An unusual seal is that of William *dictus* Conrad, *arbalistrarius illustris domini Regis Anglie* (1305).¹

The monastic items already mentioned include, in addition to individual deeds relating to separate houses, four small groups. The largest consists of twenty-eight charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries relating to the estates of the Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross at *Alricheseia* [Arlesey] and *Melho* [Millo] in Bedfordshire, which formed part of the original endowment by Harold and are mentioned in Edward the Confessor's confirmation charter of 1062. These are survivals of two series of documents from the Abbey muniments and bear the monastic numberings of those series on the back. In the middle of last century they were owned by Stacey Grimaldi and while in his possession were described by John Gough Nichols.² They comprise one item, endorsed ·ij·, from the first series and twenty-seven from the second, endorsed viij, xiiij, xvij, xxxij-xxxvij,³ xl, xlj, xliij, l, lix, lxx, lxxj, lxxvij, lxxxj, xcv, c, cv, cxiiij, cxv, cxix, cxxv, and two with no number, which are Nichols's [ciiij] and [130]. Perhaps the most interesting is ·ij·, which is the original institution by (St.) Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, of Walter de Gant, first Abbot of Waltham, and the Canons there to the vacant church of Arlesey. The witnesses include Haimo, Dean of Lincoln, Richard, Abbot of Grimsby, Hugh, Prior of Bridlington, Laurence, Archdeacon of Bedford, and Ralph and William, "our chaplains," and the date is 1189/95; unfortunately the seal is missing. To xiiij of the second series, which is a thirteenth century grant by William, the Prior, and the Canons Regular of Wymondley, to Richard, chaplain and vicar of St. Peter's Church, Arlesey, is appended the Priory seal (pl., figs. 3 and 4). This, a pointed oval in green wax, measuring one inch and three-quarters by one inch, and attached by cords of

¹ *V. inf.*, p. 374.

² *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vi (1840), pp. 196 sqq.

³ No. xxxij, a grant by Odo Burnard to Waltham of Hugh son of Andrew of Rankedich with his children and chattels, is endorsed: "Odonis Burnard, de Hugone filio Andree natiuo suo *nobis* dato". This point is not mentioned by Nichols.

plaited silks, depicts the Virgin with crown, seated, holding a sceptre in her right hand and the Child on her knee, embraced by her left arm, and has the legend : ✠ S : HOSPITAL' : S'CE : MARIE : DE : WIMONDESLE'. The counter-seal, a small oval of one inch and an eighth by seven-eighths of an inch, shows a profile bust with the tonsure ; the legend here is : ✠ SIGILL' WILL'I PRIORIS DE WILEMVNDEL'.¹ Apart from the interest in them arising from their connexion with Waltham, these charters furnish several details relating to the pedigree of the family of Burnard, which held Arlesey from the eleventh century until late in the thirteenth and were liberal benefactors of the Abbey ; three good examples of the seal of Odo Burnard occur, together with a number of other private seals.

Another group of twenty-six charters, ranging in date from the early thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, concern estates in Kent and Suffolk belonging to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. These, again, are survivals of various series from the Priory muniments. Examination of the endorsements shows that they had a topographical arrangement within which they were numbered ; in most cases they are also endorsed, by the same hand, "registratur". With a single exception the places concerned are in Kent, including Hollingbourne, Blean, Farleigh, Teston, West Cliffe, Thornden, Seasalter, Godmersham, Westerham, Westwell, Thanet and Peckham ; the exception is an agreement of 25th December, 1294, between the Prior and Convent and Nicholas de Laffham respecting land in Hadleigh, co. Suffolk.² Two royal charters of 1290 are included. The first is the grant by Queen Eleanor to the Prior and Convent of her manors of West Farleigh and Teston, with all appurtenances, witnessed by, among others, the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Durham and the Earls of Gloucester, Lincoln and Surrey ; unfortunately the seal is missing, the plaited silk cord only remaining. This item, like

¹ A fourteenth-century seal, imperfect and apparently without counter-seal, showing differences from the one described here, is reproduced in *V.C.H. Hertford*, iv, plate facing p. 434.

² Endorsed "Convencio inter nos et N. de Laffam [sic] de quodam prato in Hadleghe". The endorsed descriptions of two other items contain the words "nobis vendidit".

a number of others in this group, has formed part of two separate series ; in the earlier it was LXI and in the later was advanced to iij. The second is the inspeximus and confirmation by Edward I of a grant by Queen Eleanor to the Prior and Convent of an acre of land in Westerham, an acre in West Cliffe, and the advowsons of the two churches with all appurtenances, dated 20th June, 1290 ; a large fragment of the royal seal remains. This inspeximus has also belonged to two series, in which it was numbered LX and ij. Of the remaining items perhaps the most interesting, on account of its seal, occurs in the Blean series, of which four documents have survived in this collection (nos. V, IX, XI and XII). This is an indenture of agreement of the early thirteenth century between John, the Prior, and the Convent, of the one part, and Peter, the Rector, and the Brethren of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Eastbridge, Canterbury, of the other, by which the latter grant to the former land called *Asseteghe* and thirty-four and a half acres in Thanet, of which twenty-six acres and three virgates are held by the Rector and Brethren of Adam de Sturey, son of Ailgar, and seven acres and three virgates of Theobald de Helles. Attached is the seal of the Hospital of St. Thomas (pl., figs. 1 and 2), a pointed oval in green wax measuring three inches by two and bearing a representation of St. Thomas Beckett, the patron saint, with mitre and pall, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding a pastoral staff with which he is piercing the head of a knight in armour on whom he is standing and who holds a sword in his left hand. The legend is : ✠ SIGILLVM : HOSPITALIS : S' : TOM[Æ] : CANTVARIÆ : DE : EĀSTBREGĒ. The counter-seal, measuring one and one-eighth inches by one inch, bears a figure with a staff in his left hand and a book, apparently, in his right, with a sprig of foliage in the field on each side ; legend : TOMECE DEVM ET DILIGITE. A number of other interesting seals occur, three being heraldic, namely those of Simon de Blean (1228), Richard, son of Dering de Haut (1234) ¹ and Nicholas de Lafham (1294).

¹ A fess and in chief three roundels (Dering). It is attached to a grant by Hamo Bouier son of Robert to the Prior and Convent of an acre of his land in North Blean. Cf. *Arch. Cant.*, xv. 23-24, for this item. See also Birch, *Cat. of Seals in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, iii. 81.

The third of the four groups to which reference has been made consists of eight original thirteenth-century charters of holdings of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, in Lees and Cranage in Cheshire. These have been printed in full and annotated by Professor Tait in his *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*.¹ It is interesting to notice that these eight belonged to a collection of Abbey charters twenty-four others of which are also in the John Rylands Library, having been deposited in 1921 with the Mainwaring manuscripts by Sir Harry Mainwaring, late of Peover Hall, Cheshire. The collection had belonged to the family of Mainwaring of Kermincham which acquired the Abbey manor of Barnshaw-cum-Goostrey; Lees and Cranage were within the jurisdiction of this manor. When it was sold to the main line of the Mainwarings in the middle of the eighteenth century the charters were transferred to Peover. The eight now in the Hatton Wood collection apparently became separated from their fellows either at the Dissolution or during their stay at Kermincham.²

Another group of five, all twelfth century, relate to the Priory of Sempringham. The earliest of these is a grant and confirmation to the Priory by Haldan son of Swein of Kirkby of eighteen and a half acres of arable land of his patrimony in the territory of Kirkby. Attached is a perfect example of his seal, in brown wax, with an interlaced-pattern design and the legend: ✠ SIGILLUM ƿLDƿNI FILL'I SVA'N; three different kinds of A's are used in this legend. A contemporary endorsement states that the other part of the cyrograph is at Vaudey (Vallis Dei). Two other grants, dating from the middle of the century, both from Walter de Rennes and his brother William de Rennes, are also of land in Kirkby. The brothers appear to have been liberal benefactors to the Priory and others of their grants are now among the Additional Charters at the British Museum.³ Each of the deeds in the present collection bears a good example of Walter's seal.⁴ The witnesses of one

¹ Part ii (Chetham Society, N.S. 82). They are his nos. 737, 738, 740, 740a, 741, 753, 757 and 759.

² See *ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

³ See *The Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xvi.

⁴ The device is apparently a falcon close. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 34, 158.

include Roger de Willoughby, John his nephew, William clerk of Willoughby, Ralph clerk of Aslackby, Ralph of Laughton, Ulf *stabularius*, Geoffrey Parleben, Robert Musteile and Roger de Hospicio. These nine also attest three other grants by the brothers to the Priory, one dated 14 Stephen.¹ Ulf, who is also a witness to the other grant in the Hatton Wood collection, occurs frequently in that capacity in Sempringham charters of this time granted both by William and Walter and by others.² The remaining Sempringham items in the present collection, both twelfth century, are a grant by Robert de Langton of meadow land in *Littlemor* and an acre of arable land in the territory of *Hawerthorp*; and a grant by Osbert son of Hereward of Southorpe of all his right in a toft in Bulby held of the Priory and in half an acre of land to the west of the mill which belonged to Richard de Cotes. To each is still attached its seal. That of Robert, which is equestrian, is known from other examples.³ Osbert's, a pointed oval in red wax, bears a device which later became a fleur-de-lys and the legend: ✠ SIGILL' OSBERTI FILII HERWARDI.

Of the remaining monastic items, the two earliest relate to Worcester. The first is the original quit-claim from Henry I to the Prior and monks of Worcester of XV [*sic*] hides of Alveston, co. Warwick, from gelds and murders and all other royal exactions, for the safety of his soul and the soul of Mathilda his Queen (d. 1118), witnessed by Geoffrey de Clinton at Worcester; copies, with some differences, are entered in the Priory Register and on the *Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls*.⁴ The second is an original grant by King Stephen to the Prior and monks of the peaceful enjoyment of their land of Buraston as Osbert son of Richard and Hugh his son, and Osbert son of the said Hugh granted it to them, witnessed by John Mar' at Northampton; on the back

¹ B.M. Add. Ch. 20,866-20,867 and 21,137, printed in *The Genealogist*, xvi. 157-158, 223-224.

² See *ibid.*, xvi, pp. 34, 78, 81, 156, 158, 224 (3); xvii. 29, 30, 31, 164, 165 (2), 167, 232, 234.

³ Attached to further grants by him, referred to *ibid.*, xvii. 234. It is described in Birch's *Cat. of Seals*, ii. 315.

⁴ See Hale, *Registrum Prioratus Beatæ Mariæ Wigorniensis* (Camden Soc., 91), p. 85a; *The Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls* (Pipe Roll Soc., vol. 55, N.S. vol. 17), p. 69 (no. 126).

is an old series number ("vj"). Another original royal charter relating to a Benedictine house also occurs, namely, the quit-claim by King John, in confirmation of the quit-claim of Henry I, to the Nunnery of Stanfield in Lincolnshire which was printed, with substantial accuracy, by Duffus Hardy from the copy on the Charter Rolls.¹

Four Cistercian Abbeys are represented: Kirkstead, Pipewell, Robertsbridge and Whalley. An original charter of Henry II grants to the monks of Kirkstead their building in Wildmore called *Filfarðemere* and confirms to them two grants of land there, one by Robert Marmiun, the other *ex dono meo per aliam cartam*. This, witnessed, among others, by Richard, Bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely, is dated at Woodstock, 10th July [1173/1189]. Two items relate to Pipewell, the earlier being a notification to Richard, Bishop of Chester (1162-1182), made by Robert, son of William de Wauere, of his confirmation of an agreement made between the monks of Pipewell and Richard his "man" respecting a virgate of land in Lawford, co. Warwick, and a toft; the later, dating from the end of the century, is a grant by Walter de Kilsby to Pipewell of an acre of land, in the fields of Long Lawford, lying on *Wouelond* next to the acre of the monks and abutting on one side on *Hauelond* brook and on the other on *Cotenhul*. Both retain their seals and have formed part of the same series of documents, in which they were numbered "xxxiiij" and "xj," respectively. One item only relates to Whalley, but that of great interest, namely, the original approbation by Robert de Radeswell, Archdeacon of Chester, of the confirmation by Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, of the bull of Nicholas IV granting licence for the translation of the Abbey from Stanlaw and the appropriation of Whalley church, 15th March, 1294.² The foot of the document has been cut away, no doubt to obtain the seal, but the text is not interfered with. This was bequeathed to Mr. Wood by the late Canon Raines. Robertsbridge is represented by three items of the thirteenth and

¹ *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, vol. 1, pars i, p. 185b.

² See *The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey* (ed. W. A. Hulton, Chetham Soc., vol. x), p. 197.

fourteenth centuries, the earliest and most interesting of which is a writ of 6th November, 1279, to the Custos and Chapter of the Free Chapel of Hastings to admit the Abbot as a canon and brother of the said Chapel and assign to him and his successors a stall in the choir there and a place in the chapter, reciting letters patent by which licence had been granted to the Abbot and Convent to appropriate the prebend of Salehurst and the churches of Udimore and Mountfield, to be Canons of the Chapel, and to be admitted by the Dean or Custos and Chapter as canon and brother. Incidentally, the notification of the Custos and Chapter that they had complied with this was preserved at Penshurst in 1873.¹ Although not monastic, another charter may be mentioned here as it bears the extremely rare, if not unique, seal of an Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Ford, co. Devon. This is the grant by William Toterigge and his wife Mabel to Edward Blakforde, John Forde, chaplain, William Bakelforde [*sic*], Nicholas atte Wylle, Hugh Saunforde, and John Vowel, of all their lands and tenements in Spearhay [in Thorncombe], dated 4th May, 1396. Because their seals were not well known, William and Mabel procured the seal of the Abbot of Ford, which is still attached (pl., fig. 6) and merits a full description. It is a pointed oval in red wax (measuring $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$ when complete) and has at one time been broken but has since been carefully mended and now has only a slight imperfection at the bottom. The design shows the Abbot standing in a carved niche with canopy, having in his right hand a pastoral staff and in his left a book. On each side is a shield of arms : on the dexter, the arms of the Courtenays, and on the sinister a lion rampant. The legend reads : SIGILLVM WALTE[RI BVRSTO]KE ABBATIS DE FORDE. No seal of Ford Abbey or of any of its Abbots was known to the editors of Dugdale,² although some twenty years later Oliver³ was acquainted with an example of the common seal. No seal of an Abbot, however, other than the present one, seems to be

¹ *Calendar of Charters and Documents Relating to the Abbey of Robertsbridge . . . Preserved at Penshurst* (1873), p. 88 (262). On the appropriation see *Archæologia*, vol. 45, pp. 429 *sqq.*

² *Monasticon*, v (1825), p. 377.

³ *Monasticon diæcesis Exoniensis* (1846), p. 341.

anywhere recorded. This item is known to have been offered for sale by a firm of London booksellers in 1875,¹ after which date all trace of it was lost. It was no doubt at this sale that it was acquired by Mr. Wood.

Apart from Waltham, the charters relating to which have already been mentioned, a single item relating to another house of Austin Canons occurs, namely, the confirmation by Ralph of Ykelesh' [Icklesham, co. Sussex] to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Hastings, of a grant to them made by Robert *mercator* son of Guido. This, which dates from the early thirteenth century, is one of the few surviving charters of the house; attached is an imperfect equestrian seal in brown wax. It was formerly owned by Stacey Grimaldi and while in his possession was consulted by John Gough Nichols.² Three other interesting seals occur. Attached to a grant of 4th May, 1432, by Nicholas, the Prior, and the Convent of the Cluniac Priory of Thetford to John Ballys of Thetford of a parcel of land there, is the common seal of the Prior and Convent, a little rubbed and with part of the legend missing. Two conveyances to members of the Cranstoun family carry the common seals of Melrose Abbey (July, 1539) and Dryburgh Abbey (February, 1546), both perfect specimens. Finally, but not the least important, are three grants by the Prior and Chapter of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. The earliest of these, the long charter of 1190 by which Garnerius de Neapoli, the Prior, and the Chapter grant to Turstan de Bakechild [Bapchild] and his heirs their land in Kent which Brother Adam de Tanges gave them, was formerly in the Surrenden Library and while there was drawn on by Hasted, who printed it in part in vol. 2 (1782) of his *History of Kent*; attached is the common seal with the counter-seal of Garnerius.³ By the second Alan, the Prior, and the Chapter, in 1193 grant to Roger son of Thorald and his heirs two acres of land in Ros-therne, in Cheshire, which Robert the priest held and which they have of the grant of Humphrey de Rostherne, at the yearly

¹ See *Trans. of the Devonshire Association*, vol. x, p. 369.

² See *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. 6 (1840), p. 104; *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. xiii, p. 170.

³ See Hasted, ii. 599, where the seals are engraved.

rent of twelve pence, a third part of the chattels of the said Roger and his heirs to remain to the house on their deaths. The third is a grant of the late thirteenth century by Elias de Smithtdon [sic], the Prior, and the Chapter, to Robert le Clerk of all the land which John de Templelonde formerly held in the manor of Holedich, at a yearly rent of three shillings and, on the death of himself and his heirs, a third part of all their chattels ; it bears the chapter seal and the counter-seal of Elias, both much rubbed.

Among a few foreign items (French, German and Italian), four relating to religious houses in France may be mentioned here. The first, one of the most interesting charters in the collection,¹ is a grant by Robert, Count of Meulan (d. 1118), to St. Mary of Bec and the monks there of a certain manor in England, with appurtenances, called *Parua Meleburn'* and of his chapel of *Cunton* [Compton] in Wiltshire with all its appurtenances : *Hiis testibus Roberto, Waleranno, Hugone, filiis meis, Galfrido de Esmaleuill', Odone dapifero, Willelmo de Merlen' et pluribus aliis*. A large fragment of Robert's seal has survived. In uncoloured wax, it shows on the obverse a figure in armour, full-length and facing front, holding a sword in front of him with the point downwards, his right hand at the top of the scabbard, his left on the hilt ; the head and shoulders are missing. On the reverse is a knight, with his shield over his left arm, on a horse springing to the left ; the head and shoulders, again, are missing and the legend is illegible. The next earliest in date is a confirmation by Henry II to the Abbey of Fontevrault of ten marcs of rent at Nutford of the manor of Pimperne [co. Dorset] which Robert, Earl of Leicester, gave them together with his daughter, " as his charter testifies " ;² this is witnessed by Maurice de Croun, Roger de Koech, William de Muntsorel and Hamel de Muntoire at Chinon and still has a small fragment of the seal attached. Of interest both for its contents and its rare seal is an inspeximus by Simon [de Welles], Bishop of Chichester [1204-1207], of a confirmation to the Abbey of

¹ Cf. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., xvii. 21 ; *sup.*, p. 355 n. 10.

² Cf. Round, *Cal. of Documents Preserved in France, A.D. 918-1206*, p. 385 ; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vii (1830), 1085.

St. Michael, Tréport, by his predecessor Hilary, Bishop of Chichester [1147-1169], of the vills of *Boninton* and *Pleidenne* [Bullingtons in Bexhill and Playden, both in Sussex], which Robert, Count of Eu, had granted them. The attached seal of Simon is unfortunately imperfect, but most of the lower half has survived. It is a pointed oval in brown wax, showing on the obverse, as far as it can be described, the Bishop, full length, standing on a small platform, a pastoral staff in his left hand ; of the legend the only letters remaining are : [. . . G]RACIA : D[EI . . .]. On the reverse is the lower half of a barefooted figure seated on a throne, with the legend : [. . .]A : VERITAS [. . .]. The remaining item referred to is an acknowledgment from Henry, the Abbot, and the monks of Noyers to the Chapter of St. Martin of Tours respecting a mill, dated 1198. In this connexion, too, may be mentioned four items relating to the monastery of Vallambrosa, ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

In addition to those already mentioned above in different connexions, there are over two hundred other charters and documents relating to Kent, which is the most fully represented of all counties in the present collection. These range in date from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, but more than five-sixths is pre-1500. Within the county itself, the parishes of Pluckley and Willesborough are most fully represented with over forty items each. Seventeen of the Pluckley deeds date from the time of Edward I, including a number of grants by John, son of William de Pluckley, kt., with five good examples of his seal (in the 1280's and 1290's). Among later grants is one of 16th March, 1371, by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, Constable of England, to Roger Malmeyns, of the manor of Pluckley. Other items are connected, not surprisingly, with the Dering family and notably with Christina, widow of John Dering. A perfect example of her seal (heraldic) as widow of Reginald Dryland, her second husband, is attached to a grant of 1445 to Robert Artour, rector of Chartham, and others of a tenement and lands in Pluckley and Little Chart which she had of the feoffment of John Haute, her father ; in a release of 1427 she

uses the seal of her late husband, John Dering. The seal of Richard Dering of Pluckley, unfortunately imperfect, is attached to his grant to John Darell and others of the manor of Surrenden in April, 1480; another more perfect example, however, occurs elsewhere in the collection. A copy of Christina's Will (dated 1473) made in 1603 is also included, as are probate copies of the wills and testaments of Robert Stonstret (1534) and George Pyckenden (1552), both of Pluckley parish. With two or three exceptions the Willesborough documents are all late fourteenth (Richard II) or fifteenth century. The earliest is a grant of about 1200 by Simon son of Godfrey of Ateleswithe (in Willesborough) to Robert son of Osmund, clerk of Aldington, and the latest are probate copies of the wills and testaments of William Michell (1496) and his widow Joan Michell (1501); the will of John Michell (1426) also occurs. Both the Pluckley and the Willesborough items are comparatively rich in field-names. As regards the remaining Kentish documents, which are mostly of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Eastry, Kennington, Knolton, Rucking, Sandwich, Selling, Smarden and Wrotham are represented by some half-dozen items each, the rest being scattered in ones and twos throughout the county; of these the earliest relate to East Sutton (two grants, 1269 and 1272). Included are a receipt of Simon (de Brusele), Master of the Hospital of St. Mary at Dover, to Sir Richard atte Lese for fifty silver shillings for the farm of the manor of Warden in Shepey, 11th June, 1364, with Simon's private seal attached; an inventory of 1413; and the probate copy of the Will and testament of Adam Kyngsnoth of Smarden parish (1514). A number of heraldic seals occur, including another example of that of Richard Dering, attached to his feoffment to William Brent and others of all his lands, etc., in Romney Marsh and elsewhere in Kent, on 30th March, 1480. Attached to a bond of Geoffrey atte Doune and John Bone of Stansted to John atte Wode, dated at London, 10th October, 1348, is the Statute Merchant Recognizance Seal of London; the obverse is imperfect but the counter-seal complete save for a portion of the legend.

Although much less in number a small group of thirty-six

Gloucestershire deeds are also of interest. Ranging from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century they relate for the most part to Bristol and mostly to St. Peter's parish there. Among the earliest is a group of seven of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century concerning John de Kingswood, carpenter, his widow, Alice, their son John and a piece of land lying between the ditch of the barbican of the castle and St. Peter's churchyard.¹ Six other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century items concerning lands and premises in the same parish are endorsed *Scolehow*s or *Almyshow*s or both. One of these, an indenture of 26th April, 1384, between the Rector (Thomas Veysey) and parishioners bears the seal of the churchwardens and parishioners, unfortunately imperfect, but showing a fine representation of St. Peter's Church; its counterpart, also in the collection, bears Veysey's seal. The original settlement of 1387 of the dispute between the Rector and parish over the rectory house also occurs; this is already known from a copy,² as is also the lease of 1435 by the Rector and parishioners to the *validus et famosus vir* Walter Norton of a portion of the churchyard.³ Attached to the latter is a good example of Norton's seal (heraldic). Another item relating to St. Peter's contains one of the earliest references to the chapel of the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Belhouse there. This is a grant of 10th April, 1497, by John Griffith, a Bristol merchant, to Thomas Norton and other proctors of the Fraternity, of a messuage, to be sold by them at the highest price they can obtain, the money to be used to provide suitable chaplains to celebrate before the image of St. Mary in the Fraternity Chapel for the souls of those whose names are on a tablet there. A lease of 26th September, 1460, by the Rector and parishioners is of particular interest as it carries the common seal of St. Peter's, a pointed oval in red wax measuring two and one-quarter by one and three-eighth inches and showing St. Peter, with keys, bearing a large church, the field being replenished with foliage;

¹ Cf. C. E. Boucher, "St. Peter's Church, Bristol" (in *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 32), p. 264, and J. J. Simpson, "St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol" (*ibid.*, vol. 48), p. 195.

² Boucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 274; Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

legend : SIGILLUM : ECCLIE : PAROCH[ALIS] : SN[CTI] ? : PETRI] : BRISTOLLIE (pl., fig. 5). Apparently only one other example of this seal is known and that dates from 1525.¹ Another seal worthy of note is that of the Fraternity of Kalendars, which is attached to an agreement made on 1st May, 1361, between Thomas, Rector of St. Lawrence's, Bristol, and William, Prior of the Fraternity, concerning the custody of the evidences of the Cecilia Pollard chantry in St. Laurence's church.² This is a pointed oval in dark brown wax and shows three men's heads, two of which, a little larger than the third, form a base, the third being immediately above and between them, with a background of foliage. When perfect it would measure two inches by one and a half, but only the letters SIGI[LLUM] of the legend remain, although the design is complete. Another example, but dating from 1466, is recorded as having been owned by Peter Le Neve (d. 1729) and in 1837 was in the possession of John Bowyer Nichols ; this also had an imperfect legend.³ The seal described by Birch in his *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum* as the seal of "an uncertain religious house," again with an imperfect legend, would also seem to be the seal of the Fraternity.⁴ Among the later items is a manumission by Thomas, the Abbot, and the Convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, of their villein John Bond, a weaver, dated in the Chapter House on 20th July, 1505.

Some thirty items relate to Lancashire, of which one of the most interesting has already been mentioned.⁵ They

¹ See Boucher, p. 281 and the illustration there.

² A clause from Cecilia Pollard's charter is cited in the document. For the Pollard Chantry see *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 8, pp. 232-233.

³ See *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. iv. p. 245. This was in red wax. Nichols notes "The legend was probably more perfect when Le Neve possessed the deed, as he has written [apparently an endorsement] 'Sigillum Prioratus domus Calendar Brestoll,' and, again, 'Sigill. Prioris domus Kalendar Bristol'". This is not quite clear. They may be merely Le Neve's own descriptions and in any case could not both be a copy of the legend, which, however, must have had similar wording. The document to which the seal is attached, a release by the Prior and Fraternity of property in Bristol to the Abbey of Glastonbury, 1466, is printed, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

⁴ Birch, i. 462. This is a sulphur cast from an imperfect impression (13th cent.).

⁵ *Sup.*, p. 361 (Whalley).

include a group of ten, with one exception (1512), of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, concerning the Langton family and Hindley, and twelve miscellaneous items of the fourteenth to the seventeenth century connected with Manchester, some relating to the town mills ; eight of the latter formerly belonged to Dr. Edward Holme. Two I.P.M.'s occur, those of Thomas Strangeways (1593) and Samuel Chetham of Manchester (1598), and one Will, that of Thomas Peddard of Salford (1533), the last a contemporary certified copy. Of the remainder perhaps the most interesting is a grant of 1294 by Henry, Lord of Worsley, to his son Richard and Richard's wife Margaret of his manor of Worsley. Two seals only call for mention, those of Ralph de Langton (1364) and Richard de Tetlow (1390), the last unfortunately somewhat rubbed. Not without interest, on account of its connexions, is the original attestation by Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, of the descent of the ducal house of Howard from " the Howards of Howord [*sic*] Hall, in the village or terri-torie of Howard in Honors-Feld in the parish of Ratchdale," dated 8th April, 1665, and bearing Dugdale's signature at the foot. This document, based on Richard James's *Iter Lancastrense*, is well known ;¹ there is, of course, not the slightest proof of any connexion between the two families.

Apart from the large collection from the muniments of the Legh family, referred to below, several other Cheshire items, connected with Macclesfield and Bucklow Hundreds, occur. Although these have been drawn on by Helsby for his edition of Ormerod's *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*,² they would repay further examination ; in spite of the comparative fullness with which he cites many of the earlier deeds, his copies and abstracts are not always satisfactory or complete, while the later ones have often only a passing reference. Information in Rylands English MS. 422, it may be noticed, indicates that it was in July, 1875, that Mr. Wood first drew

¹ See Corser, *Iter Lancastrense* (Chetham Soc. 7), p. 80 ; Baines, *History of Lancashire*, ii. 643 ; Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, ii. 444-445.

² See the acknowledgment to Mr. Wood in Helsby's Preface (i, p. xxvi) and the references under Macclesfield and Bucklow Hundreds.

Helsby's attention to the present collection.¹ Among the more important items are a number of grants, mostly of the reign of Henry III, although one or two are earlier. They include the grants by Roger son of Alfred to Adam de Dutton (Stretton);² by John son of John de Boydel to his brother Roger (Oughttrington);³ by Richard son of Gilbert de Aston to Geoffrey de Dutton (Nether Walton);⁴ by Thomas son of Richard de Clive to Robert Grossouenator (Clive);⁵ by Robert de Mara to his sons Philip and Gilbert (Strethul in Mere);⁶ by Adam de Norcot to Geoffrey de Dutton (Norcot);⁷ by Henry son of Orm to Thomas son of Ranulph de Cranage (Holmes Chapel);⁸ and by William son of Hova de Hulme to Henry son of Thomas de Cranage (Holmes Chapel).⁹ Attached to a pardon of 1st May, 1411, granted to Robert Delves, clerk, John Aston, kt., and others for all their transgressions, etc., respecting the manor of Heswall, a moiety of the advowson of Heswall church and certain messuages, lands and tenements in Heswall and Caldý, with appurtenances, which they acquired from John Egerton, is the seal of the County Palatine of Chester. A later item of interest is the original calendar, signed by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Cheshire contributors to the Queen's loan in 1597. This, which gives the names and amounts of those who paid, together with the names of defaulters and remarks against others pleading insufficiency, was edited by Mr. Wood for the fourth volume of the *Chetham Miscellanies* in 1872.¹⁰

¹ Letter from R. H. Wood to T. Helsby, 15th July, 1875 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 422, f. 64). Six other letters from Mr. Wood to Helsby are bound in this volume (*ibid.*, ff. 64-67). Eng. MSS. 422-424, which was acquired by the Library in 1927, contains a collection of original letters to Helsby in connexion with his edition of Ormerod's *History*, together with many notes relating to the same.

² *Ibid.*, i. 663, note c.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 584.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 738-739.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 214.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 468, note g. The interesting although imperfect seal, which is attached by leather thongs, is engraved *ibid.*, p. 466. It bears a design which has been variously interpreted as an anchor (by Leycester) or "an ancient vessel" (Helsby).

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 657.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 122.

⁹ *Ibid.* The items relating to Holmes Chapel are in a small bundle as Helsby returned them, with his note of thanks to Mr. Wood enclosed (June, 1877).

¹⁰ Chetham Soc. 83.

The only codex in the collection, a large folio volume containing pedigrees of Cheshire families, may also be mentioned here. This volume, which dates from the early seventeenth century (with a number of later additions), consists of one hundred and fourteen parchment leaves and is elaborately illustrated throughout with over one thousand five hundred emblazoned coats of arms. The pedigrees are preceded by "descences" of Christ and of the Kings of England, and followed by additional information relating to the Helsby family with transcripts of some thirty charters relating to the same. As might be conjectured, the volume formerly belonged to the Helsbys and signatures of members of the family occur at the beginning, the earliest being Randolph, 1640, and the latest Thomas, the Cheshire historian.

As regards remaining counties, which, save for Shropshire and Lincolnshire (some thirty items each), are represented in each case by ten items or less, the materials in the present collection are of a very miscellaneous character. The only groupings are of four deeds relating to Burston, co. Buckingham (14th-15th cent.), five to Stilton, co. Huntingdon (1362-1386), six to Gazeley parish, Suffolk (13th-14th cent.), seven to Lydbury North, Salop (14th-15th cent.), fifteen to Sotby, co. Lincoln (16th-17th cent.), and sixteen to Oswestry, Weston and Llanforda, Salop (13th-15th cent.); of the last, six are grants to John Lloyd of Oswestry, son of Madoc Vaughan, in the thirteenthies and forties. Two royal charters occur, namely, a regrant and confirmation by King John of 5th December, 1209, to Philip son of Wastellion of the land called *Dunwallesland*, which William de Braose granted to the said Wastellion for his homage and service, to be held by the terms of furnishing one knight for the custody of Abergavenny Castle; and a grant by Henry III to William de Gray and his heirs of premises and land in Sandiacre [co. Derby] dated 28th March, 1246. In each case a fragment of the royal seal has survived. Six twelfth-century charters, relating to various counties, are also included: a grant by Robert son of Richard to his son and heir Walter of the land of Bassingham, with appurtenances, as he leased it to Robert Mantell, in dower for Walter's wife Sarah, bearing

a fine equestrian seal in perfect condition ; a grant by Walter son of Robert de Bassingham to Robert son of Theobald de Bellh' of twelve acres of land in the field of *Buch* ; a re-grant by Richard de Cahaigues to Osbert de Leicester of the land of Ashby ; a grant and confirmation by William son of Robert and Margaret his wife to Adam son of William of land in *cumitunia*, perhaps Compton in Warwickshire, to which is attached, by leather thongs, a perfect specimen of the equestrian seal of William son of Robert ; a grant by William de Estac to his brother Geoffrey of four virgates of land in *Conigestona*, the first witness to which is Ernaldus, Sheriff of Leicester ; and a grant by Geoffrey, Earl of Perch, to Adam de Lamore of half a virgate of land at Lamore which his father Everard held, with the mill there and all appurtenances. These six will be considered more fully in the Hand-List. Among the remaining items are a number of more than average interest. An admission by Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely, of Nicholas de St. Edward as perpetual vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge, on the presentation of Laurence, the Prior, and the Convent of Barnwell, with all appurtenances (saving one mark yearly to the Prior and Convent by way of pension and saving to Geoffrey and his successors the pontifical and parochial rights), which dates from 1225/29, is endorsed *Taxacio vicarie ecclesie Sancti Edwardi Cantabrigie* and *Exhibita fuit in visitacione domini Episcopi Eliensis anno domini m^occc^{mo}lxxxv^{to}* : *Foxton*. It is of interest, too, to find a writer of a deed of 1304 dropping into English, for in a release and quit-claim by Robert Sygare of Hull, co. York, to Robert Wyther and his wife Sybil of all his right in three acres of meadow called *dockemed* in the manor of Hull (24th June, 1304), the scribe has written *Ita sane quod ego Robertus* and [*sic*] *heredes mei* [etc.]. An early Wiltshire testament is that of Juliana, widow of Robert de Wylke, made on 21st April, 1288, before John, parish priest of St. Mary's, Wylke, Benedict de Berwick, chaplain, John de Berwick (Juliana's brother) and others ; an endorsement shows that it was proved on 25th June. The Will of Ann, wife of John Sutton of Walden, Herts, 5th August, 1390, is in the form of an indenture, with an heraldic seal. In this connexion, too, may be mentioned a grant of 25th July,

1386, by John de Cockerington, kt., *sanum et incolumen non mortis causa set inter vivos*, to his brother Alexander, William de Fotherby, his chaplain, and others, of all his moveable goods and chattels ; attached is a good specimen of his seal (heraldic). Certain of the earlier deeds in this collection would appear to have been examined by Francis Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, as they are marked with a distinguishing sign used by him, a cross within a circle ;¹ they include a thirteenth-century grant by Philip de Stynekeye and his wife Agnes to Reginald de Burgh of their tenement and land in Norwich.

Ten items of a miscellaneous character, ranging from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, relate to London. They include an early Westminster deed, a release and quit-claim of 1296/8 by John de Notlee to Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, of all his right in a certain piece of ground with appurtenances in Westminster Street, "namely, that which lies between the exit of the Court and the door of the aforesaid Lord Bishop Walter on the one side and the tenement of Henry Cook (*Cocus*) on the other, and between the high street which leads from Charing towards the Court of Westminster on the one side and the tenement of the aforesaid Lord Bishop Walter on the other". Attached to a release of 8th July, 1385, by John Lestraunge, lord of Knockin [Shropshire], to Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Alina Lestraunge, his mother, and Ebulo Lestraunge, clerk, his brother, of all his right and claim in the manor of Holborn in the suburb of London which he has granted them for term of their lives, is a good example of John's seal, bearing a shield charged with two lions passant. The grant of the manor of Holborn (also dated 8th July, 1385) mentioned in this release was in the possession of the Rev. L. B. Larking in 1860, when it was printed.² A receipt of 26th December, 1483, of Alice Clerke, Prioress of the Benedictine Nunnery of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire to *domina* Agnes Fooster [*sic*] for ten shillings, being rent for a tenement in Thames Street, London, also occurs ; unfortunately the seal is missing. An unusual

¹ For an example of his use of this sign see the facsimile facing p. 358 of Hudson and Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. ii.

² In *London and Middlesex Arch. Trans.*, i. 124 sqq., with a facsimile.

item on account of its seal is the transaction of [1305] between William *dictus* Conrad, king's crossbowman, and Richard Gloucester, a London money-lender; this seal, which is in black wax, shows a shield charged with a crossbowman and has the legend: ✠ S' WILL'I CONRAD.

Other seals of interest have been listed or described above and only one calls for further mention here. An order by John (Chaundeler), Bishop of Salisbury, dated 17th November, 1418, in respect of non-payment by William Ropkyn *alias* Mason of Reading of an annual rent of ten shillings bequeathed to the parish church of St. Mary, Reading, by the last Will of Ralph Bymylas, bears, as the sealing clause states, the seal Chaundeler used as Dean of Salisbury; he had only been elected Bishop two days earlier (15th November). A pointed oval in red wax, it would measure $1\frac{7}{8}" \times 1\frac{1}{4}"$ when complete. It is, however, only a little imperfect and shows a fine impression, namely, two canopied niches in which are the Virgin, with hands joined in prayer, and Son, in the act of blessing; each is crowned and seated on a throne. On either side is a figure in a niche and in the base an arch, the top only of which has survived; no doubt it contained the figure of the Dean in prayer. The legend is imperfect: S. [IO]HĪS CHAUND[ELER] [S]AR.

The second portion of the collection, differing in nature from the first in that it forms a single whole, consists of some four hundred charters and documents of the old Cheshire family of Legh of Booths, ranging in date from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, approximately half being pre-1500. It is hardly surprising to find that such a collection has not escaped the local historian and, although unknown to Leycester and Ormerod, it was consulted by Helsby, who considered it "probably now the most perfect collection of charters relating to one family in the county".¹ Helsby made extensive use of certain portions of it, notably of the items relating to Over Knutsford and Nether Knutsford,² but he can hardly be said to have exhausted its value. As in the case of the other Cheshire documents mentioned above, his copies and extracts are not

¹ Helsby, *op. cit.*, i (1882), 497, note d.

² See *ibid.*, 488-500. Also under the other family estates.

always quite correct, and, more frequently, not complete, often breaking off with an *etc.* ; other items, in view of the extent of his work, could only receive a passing reference and many are not mentioned at all. The conveyances, rentals and other documents relating to the family's lands, which form the bulk of the collection, do not, from their close interconnexion, lend themselves to selective treatment. Together with Helsby's use of them, they will be described in full in the Hand-List. The following individual items of more general interest occur : the grant by Prince Edward to Ellen, widow of John Legh, and her heirs for ever of a weekly market on Wednesday and a fair to be kept yearly at Knutsford Booths on Tuesday and Wednesday in Whitsun week, 18th May, 1281 ;¹ letters of protection for one year granted by Prince Edward to James, son of John Legh, kt., proceeding on the Prince's service to Gascony, 8th May, 1363 ; and a power of attorney by John Tochet, Sire of Audley, to John Heske and Adam Heske to receive thirds of certain goods and chattels acquired by his Lancashire and Cheshire soldiers during wars in South Wales, 1st May, 1406, with Tochet's seal (heraldic).

¹ Helsby, *op. cit.*, i. 494, note b.

SOME MANUSCRIPTS OF THE "LIBELLE OF ENGLYSHE POLYCYE."

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE "Libelle" or "little book" of English policy, the earliest known treatise on economic and political geography in English, has come down to us in two forms or editions; the first was composed in 1436/7, the second, although there has been no means of dating it exactly, has been conjecturally assigned to the following year. Directly or indirectly, eighteen, possibly twenty, copies of it are known, probably only a small proportion compared with those that have perished. Of these, twelve are extant in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, four in manuscripts of the sixteenth, one in a seventeenth-century transcript, one has survived only in Hakluyt's printed text of 1598, and two are known indirectly. The missing copy from which Hakluyt printed was closely allied to Bodleian MS. Laud. 704, on which the fourth and standard edition of the work (by Sir George Warner, 1926) has been based.

Nine manuscripts, all that were then known, were collated for that edition, together with Hakluyt's text.¹ Three are imperfect, but all are fifteenth century. Seven others have since come to light and are described below. Four of these, all showing a text of the second edition, have a particular interest, for they indicate that that edition has itself survived in two forms; the earlier represented by the text known to Warner and the later, not hitherto recorded, by copies in British Museum Harleian MS. 78 and Rylands English MS. 955. Moreover, they provide more concrete evidence for the dating of the second edition, evidence which modifies the dating previously accepted. The new form of the second edition contains many

¹ Hakluyt was acquainted with more than one copy, but he "almost certainly printed from one only" (Warner, p. viii).

differences from the established text, including seven additional lines relating to the siege of Calais. In addition, the copy in the Harleian manuscript has over eighty distinctive lines and many other individual readings of varying importance peculiar to itself. The Rylands manuscript has a further interest in that it names Archbishop Chichele as one of the three members of the Council to whom the work was submitted; in the established text the three are unnamed. Finally, although anonymous as are all the other known copies of the *Libelle*, the Rylands manuscript has a note at the foot of its last folio in an unidentified seventeenth-century hand: "Presented to y^e L. Archb. Chicheley by John Lidgate, anno domini 1436, 16¹ Henrici 6¹." This will be considered below.

The manuscripts consulted for the 1926 edition, with one or two additions to Warner's account, were: (i)² A. Laud. 704. This was only in Laud's possession for at the most some seventeen months, for he acquired it in 1634 (f. 1) and it formed part of his first donation to the Bodleian on 22nd May, 1635.³ In connexion with the date of acquisition, it is interesting to note that it was Laud who acted as intermediary when Selden, at Charles I's command, took up again his *Mare Clausum* (published 1635) against the maritime pretensions of the Dutch.⁴ (ii) A². Pepys MS. 1461 at Magdalene College, Cambridge. This was in Pepy's possession at least as early as 1697.⁵ (iii) B. Harleian MS. 4011. A long representative extract from this manuscript has since been printed separately by Dr. E. P. Hammond in her *English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey* (1927), pp. 244 *sqq.* (iv) C. Harl. MS. 271, the envoy and a short passage from which were also printed in Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 479, 482-483. (v) D. Cotton MS. Vitellius E. x. (vi) E. British Museum Add. MS. 40673. This is the same as the "Cowper manuscript," which has been inadvertently referred

¹ *Sic.* Such errors in the calculation of regnal years are not uncommon.

² The letters A, A²—HHa were given to his manuscripts by Warner for convenience of reference.

³ Cf. Madan and Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 13, 15 and note.

⁴ Selden and Laud were, of course, close friends.

⁵ Bernard, *Cat. MSS. Anglie et Hibernie* (1697), ii, 209 (no. 6817).

to as a separate copy.¹ Its history can be traced from the sixteenth century, as follows: Formerly in the possession of William Cecil, first Baron Burleigh,² it was sold with collections belonging to him on 21st November, 1687, by T. Bentley and B. Walford at The Bear, Ave-Mary Lane, London, when it was acquired by an unknown purchaser for eight shillings and sixpence.³ Possibly it passed directly to Anthony Grey, Earl of Kent (d. 1702; husband of Mary, Baroness Lucas), who owned a number of former Cecil manuscripts, for it is mentioned by Bernard as being in his library in 1697,⁴ and parts of Bernard's *Catalogus* considerably antedate 1697. It descended to Thomas Philip de Grey (d. 1859), Earl de Grey of Wrest Park, co. Bedford, and fifth Baron Lucas, whose bookplate it now contains. While in the possession of his eldest daughter, Anne Florence (d. 1880), *suo jure* Baroness Lucas, who married George Augustus Frederick, sixth Earl of Cowper, it was examined for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.⁵ Finally, it passed to the seventh and last Earl Cowper (d. 1905), the dispersal of whose library at Wrest Park, inherited by his niece Baroness Lucas, began in 1920; it was lot 630 in the Lucas sale of June, 1922 (Sotheby). (vii) F. Bodl. Rawlinson MS. Poetry 32. (viii) G. Since it was examined by Sir George Warner this manuscript, then in the possession of Mr. G. H.

¹ In Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 n. 1, 482.

² The title on the cover and some marginal notes are in his hand (see Warner, pp. xiv, liv). Burghley frequently annotated his manuscripts.

³ *Bibliotheca Illustris: sive Catalogus Variorum Librorum . . . Viri Cujusdam Prænobilis ac Honoratissimi Olim Defuncti* [i.e. Burleigh], p. 90, no. 37. With it were two other items, namely, "The Retinue of K. Edward the 3d. during the siege of Calais, a Poem" and "Livre des Requests des Armes de France et d'Angleterre." A number of the printed books in this Catalogue could not have belonged to Burleigh, as they were printed after his death. This throws some doubt on the provenance of the manuscripts, although there can be little doubt that the bulk of them belonged to him. The present item is not in any case affected. There was only one copy of the *Libelle* in the collection and this was associated with the two other items just mentioned (see next note). See also the preceding note.

⁴ Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 392 (no. 26). The two items referred to in the previous note were with it.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. to 2nd Report (1871), p. 7, no. 40. For the "Retinue of Edward III" cf. *ibid.*, p. 6, no. 18. The 1697 catalogue contains some items not in this collection.

Gurney, has changed hands. The Gurney manuscripts, which, with a few exceptions, were acquired by Hudson Gurney (d. 1864) from the collections of the Suffolk Antiquary Dr. Cox Macro (d. 1767), were sold by Major Q. E. Gurney in March, 1936, at Sotheby's, the *Libelle* being Lot 146.¹ It is now in the Boston (U.S.A.) Public Library.² (ix) H. Oxford, All Souls College MS. ciii. Warner mentions two other copies. One (x), known only to have belonged to Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, in 1588, may be the B.M. Additional MS. referred to above.³ The second (xi), thirty-four lines from which were quoted by Selden in his *Mare Clausum*, was formerly in the Cottonian Library, but has since disappeared. Warner suggests that this and the missing manuscript (xii, Ha) from which Hakluyt printed may have been one and the same, "the final word 'rest' in l. 2 being omitted in both texts."⁴ This seems slender evidence on which to identify what may be two distinct manuscripts, particularly in view of the large number of *Libelle* copies formerly in circulation. It is, too, somewhat misleading, for in fact Selden omits 'in rest,' Hakluyt 'rest' only, and in the same line reads 'region' for Hakluyt's 'reign.' Finally, Warner does not mention, although he must have been acquainted with, yet another copy, the seventeenth-century transcript (xiii) of the *Libelle* inserted at the end of the former Gurney manuscript.⁵

No attempt has so far been made to place the *Libelle* manuscripts in an exact genealogical scheme. Such an attempt would involve a new collation of the copies consulted by Warner, for, indispensable as is his edition, examination shows that he does not give every variant in his collation.⁶ The sur-

¹ This is the "William Caston" manuscript. An illustration is given in the Sale Catalogue.

² Information kindly supplied by Maggs Brothers, who acquired it at the Sotheby Sale.

³ See Warner, p. liv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. viii n. 1.

⁵ It is referred to in the account of the Gurney collection in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Rep., App. ix, p. 122. Also in the Gurney Sale Catalogue, p. 36.

⁶ That is, apart from the case of C, whose variants, he notes (p. xiv), are hardly worth recording in view of the existence of G, a "much better representative of the same class," as it is in "so rough and illiterate a hand and is otherwise of such poor quality".

viving copies are, however, so impure, so full of errors and so orthographically poor, that it is doubtful whether such a table could be satisfactorily or profitably constructed; there is, too, evidence of a considerable loss of texts. The main groups, however, have been clearly indicated. Warner shows¹ that the *Libelle* has survived in two forms or editions, the first represented by MSS. AA²BH²Ha, in which the Emperor Sigismund, who died 9th December, 1437, is spoken of as still living ("Whyche yet regneth," l. 9; B has "Whiche reigned," see below), the second, presumably issued after his death, by C-G ("Whiche late regned," CG; "Of high renowne," DEF); the latter, further, appear to have descended from their original along two different lines, DEF and CG. Other major distinguishing features of the second edition, scattered throughout Warner's collation and brought together here for convenience of reference are: the substitution of "Shall the duke of Burgoyne (Philip *add.* CG)" for "Shall any prynce" in l. 43, of "Hampton squyere" for "a goode squyere" in l. 179, of "And her (ther C, theyr G) prince turned (his DE) back" for "For fere they turned bake" in l. 294, and of an entirely different line for l. 587; the addition of ll. 300-303, 314-315 and 452-455 and the omission of ll. 456-459; and the replacing of the entire second stanza of the envoy (ll. 1150-1156), in which the *Libelle* was associated with Hungerford, by an entirely new stanza in which the work is submitted to three leading members of the Council, unnamed, but styled "bisshope and erle and barone" (ll. 1157-1164).²

Of the above manuscripts one calls for further consideration. As already noticed, in his comment on l. 9, Warner states that B, in reference to Sigismund, has "Whiche reigned" (a second edition reading), "though," he continues, "it is otherwise of the first edition."³ This statement requires modification, for although B shares the remaining distinctive

¹ Pp. ix-xiv.

² Here, as below, line references are to Warner's edition, and readings and variants, when not specifically cited, will be found there.

³ Warner, p. 60.

features of the first edition, just listed,¹ it has numerous affinities with the second; more so than any other manuscript of its group. Apart from the instance in l. 9, three cases in particular stand out. Firstly, ll. 409-410 occur in B as in the second edition, whereas other manuscripts of the first edition either omit the end of l. 409 and the beginning of l. 410 or fill in the lacuna with words of their own.² Secondly, B shares an entire line (526) with G against all other copies, and thirdly, in common with DEFG, it adds a title before l. 680. It shares a comparatively large number of other variants with manuscripts of the second edition, as in ll. 2, 6, 20, 174, 221, 232, 252, 287, 292, 317, 333, 367, 376, 379, 380, 384, 388, 421, 428, 451, 463, 498, 519, 527, 537, 545, 562, 580, 594, 599, 602, 603, 608, 609, 611, 715, 761, 771, 784, 813, 830, 842, 858, 885, 953, 971, 973, 976 and 1053. It has, too, a number of omissions in common with that edition, e.g. in the title before l. 1 (of the processe, *om.* BG), l. 63 (and fayre, *om.* BEG), the title before l. 150 (with here revers on the see, *om.* BG), l. 174 (and, *om.* BCF), the title before l. 178 (the iij^{de} hys, *om.* BFG), ll. 324 (ful, *om.* B-G), 346 (other, *om.* BG), 479 (well wryten, *om.* B-F), 559 (peple, *om.* BG), 859 (fro, *om.* BF) and 963 (gode, *om.* BF). In these variants and omissions B shows the most affinities with F and G. But apart from these coincidences, B has many features peculiar to itself. These include a number of entire lines, as ll. 25, 50-51, 61, 211-212, 226, 228-229, 261, 723, 739, 753, 759 and 763; it is significant that in six of these cases various manuscripts of the second edition, and notably G, have also distinctive lines. Other unique variants in B are even more numerous, ranging from single words to half-lines, e.g. in ll. 2, 5, 14, 21, 26, 36, 55, 62, 103, 105, 125, 202, 217, 225, 234, 246, 327, 353, 389, 401, 483, 538, 546, 572, 584, 618, 621, 680, 682, 707, 717, 736, 747, 750, 773, 823, 833, 847, 851, 878, 912, 925, 953, 978, 1024, 1059 and 1077. Finally, an interesting feature,

¹ B ends imperfectly at l. 1091 and so the envoy is not included. Ll. 627-679 are also lacking, a leaf having been lost after f. 130, and ll. 236-237, 712-713, 774-775, 806-809, 988-997 and 1030-1033 are dropped. Warner notes (p. xi) that B has a tendency to shorten its lines from ten syllables to eight.

² See Warner, p. 79.

B has titles peculiar to itself before ll. 602, 798, 852, 980 and 1010. On this evidence it is difficult to see how B can be conveniently fitted into either of the established groupings. Although, with one important exception (l. 9) which associates it with the second edition, it shares the major characteristics of the first, it cuts across both groupings, and has, in addition, many features not shared by any other known copy.

Since the 1926 edition seven other manuscripts have come to light. Three of these, two of the fifteenth century and one of the sixteenth, are in B.M. Harleian MS. 78; they are referred to here as Harl. I, Harl. II and Harl. III. This volume is made up of a miscellaneous collection of items of various dates, subjects and sizes, including four leaves (ff. 80-83) in the hand of John Shirley (d. 1456),¹ the copyist of Chaucer and Lydgate. Three others, which together make up a single copy of the *Libelle*, are represented by Rylands English MS. 955. This manuscript previously formed part of a collection owned by Sir Matthew Hale (d. 1676), Lord Chief Justice, many items in which had belonged to Selden.² It comprises an imperfect mid-sixteenth-century copy of the *Libelle* (referred to as R I), the omissions in which were supplied later in the same century on inserted leaves and pieces of paper by two different hands and from two distinct manuscripts (referred to as R II and R III). Another fifteenth-century copy is now MS. 140 of the Huntington Library, California, a volume which contains pieces by Chaucer, Lydgate and others, as well as the *Libelle*, and includes among its former owners "Master" Turner, one Billyngton (both fifteenth century) and Richard Heber (d. 1833), from whom it passed to Sir Thomas Phillipps; it was formerly no. 8299

¹ Namely, a piece of English prose headed *Doctrina et Consilium Galienis*, Chaucer's *Pite*, and the poems printed by Skeat (*The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, i, 360) as *Complaint to his Lady*. Dr. Hammond has suggested that these four leaves may be the survival of a lost Shirley volume (*Anglia*, 1904-1905, vol. 28, p. 26). See also her *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 328, and the references there.

² It will be remembered that Hale was Selden's chief executor and that many other of his manuscripts formerly belonged to Selden. The Rylands manuscript (which, it should be added, is not the copy cited in the *Mare Clausum*) was acquired from Mr. J. Fairhurst, who kindly allowed me to examine the collection mentioned above.

in the Middle Hill collection and was acquired by its present owners in 1923. Thus :

(xiv). Harl. I (Harleian MS. 78, ff. 35-52^v) dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It has at some time been damaged and the leaves now vary considerably in size, each one having been fastened in separately ; in length they vary from 280 to 294 mm. and in breadth from 194 to 213 mm. The text itself is not interfered with, although in places it is affected by damp, the foot of each page being stained throughout ; a leaf at the end containing the last few words of the Explicit and, presumably, the envoy, is missing.¹ Harl. I is the work of two scribes. The first is responsible for ff. 35-37^v (ll. 1-137) and 44 (l. 570) to end, and has from 26 to 37 lines to a full page, the average being 29 ; the first two leaves are not included in this calculation, the scribe having there spaced out his lines in stanza form (giving 19, 21, 18 and 22 lines to a page, respectively), a practice which he drops with f. 37. Ff. 38-43^v (ll. 138-569), which also have a different water-mark,² are the work of a second scribe ; they have from 34 to 39 lines to a full page, with an average of 37.

Harl. I is of the second edition,³ but with many differences from the established form ; these are given below where it is collated.⁴ It has a substantially good text disfigured by a number of blunders. It would not be difficult to compile a fairly lengthy list of scribal errors. Some appear to be due merely to carelessness, as "to ye" for "to yeue" (l. 412), "chaunges" for "chalenges" (l. 619), "sole" for "sore" (l. 622, rhyming with "colour"), "preuyolence" for "pryve violence" (l. 629), "cupite" for "cupidite" (l. 633), "othe" for "other" (l. 719), "dormons" for "dromons" (l. 1012). Others suggest that the scribes did not always understand what they were copying, e.g. "for a shyppe sett a shyppe" for "sett a shepe" (l. 37), "lygh be" for "lygh[t]le" (l. 327), "grene" for

¹ *V. inf.*, pp. 391 n. 2, 406 and n. 2.

² The two water-marks in Harl. I (a hand surmounted by a star and a one-handed crock) have no exact counterpart in Briquet.

³ For the characteristics of that edition, with which it agrees, *v. sup.*, p. 380.

⁴ Pp. 396-414 *passim*.

“ Jene ” (l. 336), “ brygges ” for “ Bruges ” (l. 440), “ fayboth ” for “ fayleth ” (l. 470), “ for a glasse ” for “ frayle as glasse ” (l. 579), “ certefy ” for “ trefy ” (l. 712), “ corde ” for “ colde ” (l. 805), “ myrthes ” for “ meritis ” (l. 955). A number of lines have also been dropped, namely, 103,¹ 248, 612, 722-723, 736-773,² 786-787, 794-795, 866-867, 894-895, 897 and 986 and the concluding portion of the work is condensed, ll. 1078-1081, 1096-1097, 1100-1101, 1104-1113, 1116-1117, and 1120-1123 being omitted and 1126-1141 being replaced by four new lines. The second scribe has certain special features of his own. He generally writes “ whith ” for “ with,” as in ll. 219, 237, 243, 322, 331, 345, 347, 356, 367, 432 and 477 ; and “ thus ” (or “ þus ”) for “ this,” e.g. in ll. 123, 157, 244, 259, 261, 331, 372, 439 and 563 ; and shows a tendency to drop a final “ t,” as in “ bowȝgh ” (l. 161), “ bowgh ” (l. 307, which he rhymes with “ brogh,” l. 306), “ mygh ” (ll. 222, 293, 327, 358, 377) and “ nogh ” (l. 535). “ p ” and “ th ” vary throughout.

(xv). Harl. II (Harleian MS. 78, f. 53) consists of one leaf only, all that has survived of a late fifteenth-century copy. This, which measures 268 × 188 mm. and has no water-mark, is neatly written and contains seventy-five lines (968-1042 incl.) from chapter xi, including the two Latin marginals “ ipse cum viij regibus . . . officio etc.” [sic] and “ Nota . . . conquestoris.”³ When complete this copy would extend to sixteen folios. F. 53 shows a straightforward text, without any of the distinctive readings which characterise Harl. I and the Rylands manuscripts. Its collation is not reproduced here, but as far as can be judged from the scanty evidence, it exhibits in the main an F text.

¹ Ll. 102-104 were apparently omitted in the first place. Discovering his error, the scribe, in adding them at the foot of f. 37 (of which l. 101 was normally the last line) only wrote ll. 102 and 104 ; these two lines are smaller and more cramped than the rest of the page.

² If the thirty-eight lines dropped here are the equivalent of one page of his exemplar, our scribe was copying from a manuscript in which the *Libelle* filled sixteen folios. Some support is lent to this by another slip. Instead of beginning f. 41 with l. 352 he first incorrectly repeats ll. 319-320, which he then lines off, realising the error. Notice that here he is thirty-four lines out. That is, in each case the slip is one of approximately the same number of lines.

³ Warner, pp. 49 and 52 respectively.

(xvi). Harl. III (Harleian MS. 78, ff. 54-69) is a neatly written sixteenth-century copy which originally formed part of a volume containing Lydgate material, as the same hand continues on f. 69^v with the *Verses on the Kings of England*. Harl. III has a fairly good text of the first edition, with marginals, but begins imperfectly with l. 75. A detailed collation is not reproduced here as it is a straightforward copy of the established type, showing no exceptional features save the omission of l. 856 and the insertion of a new line after and rhyming with l. 857, namely, "Whych bene not in þese maters prudent"; ll. 985-986 are dropped. It was not copied directly from any of the known manuscripts but is closely related to A, although a number of its variants occur, as might be expected, in other copies, notably H and Ha, which, like A, have a text of the first edition.¹ Harl. III does not share any of the distinctive features of Harl I and the Rylands manuscript.

(xvii-xix). Rylands English MS. 955 is a quarto of twenty-seven paper folios, made up of twenty-four leaves of a mid-sixteenth century copy of the *Libelle*, which is imperfect, plus three (namely, ff. 3 and 6-7) added later in the same century, on which omissions are supplied in two distinct hands and from two different manuscripts. Other omissions are supplied on f. 2 (originally blank) and on pieces of paper attached to the foot of ff. 23 and 24; the additions on these are in the hand which is also responsible for the contents of f. 3. The present backs are of parchment, cut from an ecclesiastical document of 1505 relating to a case between one John Kempe and one Avice Kewe, and have on the front, in an unidentified hand of the early seventeenth century, the title² and, in the bottom right-hand corner, much rubbed, the name of a former owner: "Mr. Choke, Abbango" (apparently [*sic*]: *not* Avington); as already mentioned,³ the manuscript was formerly owned by Sir Matthew Hale, and Hale's eldest son Robert married Frances,

¹ A and Ha were derived from a common source. H ends imperfectly at the foot of a page with l. 731, but as far as it goes contains nearly as good a text as A.

² "A processe of Englishe pollesy touching keeping of the narrow sea."

³ *Sup.*, p. 382.

daughter of Sir Francis Choke of Avington, Berks. The original backs, however, as their stained condition shows, were the present ff. 1 and 27^v. At the top of f. 1 the original sixteenth-century hand has written "Hony soit qui mal y pance [*sic*]." Underneath this, printed in a seventeenth-century hand, is "Benedict Brough / floruit [struck through] / Lidgate," the three being joined by a bracket at the side of which is "synthronei." Underneath this, again, in a late sixteenth-century hand, also unidentified, is the title, "The bible ¹ of pollicie." Thus :

(xvii). R. I, the original manuscript. Paper, 24 ff. (the present ff. 1-2, 4-5, 8-27), measuring 217 × 158 mm. and gathered in three complete eights, bearing a water-mark almost identical with Briquet's nos. 12,660 and 12,661.² The hand is mid-sixteenth century, with the number of lines to a complete page varying from 22 to 26, the average being 24. There are no original marginals and no original foliation or pagination. In only one case is there an original chapter-number ;³ in five other cases a blank has been left for the numbers.⁴ Otherwise no distinction is made between chapter headings and mere section headings within a chapter ; both have been numbered, consecutively and without differentiation, by the two repairing hands, the first giving a total of twenty-five, the second of twenty-seven,⁵ compared with the twelve (strictly chapter headings) of manuscripts of the first edition or thirteen of the second.

R I begins imperfectly at the top of the present f. 4 with l. 44 ("Whiche hathe nobles" etc.). The missing portion—the explanatory heading and ll. 1-43—would fill almost exactly one leaf. There is no original envoy, nor does the manuscript appear ever to have had one, unless, which seems very doubtful, it was on a leaf, now missing, added at the front ; it could hardly have been at the end, its natural place, for the last line (1141) of the *Libelle* falls at the foot of f. 27, followed by "Amen," and

¹ This corruption is peculiar to manuscripts of the second edition.

² 1534 and 1537, respectively. North-East France.

³ "ij chapter," f. 5^v. Warner p. 7.

⁴ Ff. 8^v, 10, 14^v, 21^v and 25^v. Warner, pp. 15 (chapter 5), 17 (6), 28 (8), 44 (11) and 53 (12), respectively.

⁵ The additional two occur in the omitted ll. 140-231, which R III supplies on the inserted ff. 6-7. R III has altered the remaining numberings of R II accordingly to include these two.

f. 27^v, which is in any case blank, was the original back. As noticed below, however, an envoy has been supplied on an original fly-leaf (now f. 2) by R II. The names "Benedict Brough" and "Lidgate" on f. 1 might seem to indicate that other leaves are missing, but the physical make-up and condition of the manuscript is completely against this. An unidentified seventeenth-century hand has noted at the foot of f. 27: "Presented to y^e L. Archb. Chicheley by John Lidgate, anno domini 1436, 16 [sic] Henrici 6ⁱ." ¹

R I has a text of the second edition, coinciding with C-G in six out of the ten major characteristics ² of that group; those lines containing the remaining four are lacking owing to the imperfections already mentioned. Nevertheless, it shows differences which associate it with Harl. I. These are listed below, where a collation is given.³ A number of corruptions and errors of copying occur, e.g. "Dude" for "Duke" (l. 236), "in ther londe" for "in thys londe" (l. 240), "set up" for "set upon" (l. 253), "communities" for "commodities" (l. 276), "knight woode" for "knight hoode" (l. 302), "their that" for "their woll that" (l. 436), "founde" for "sounde" (l. 449), "destroy" for "descrye" (l. 493; the correction is made by another hand), "The w^{ch}" for "To w^{ch}" (l. 524), "Why is this for profyttes of Englonde w^t ther namys" (l. 607, a complete line), "synginge" for "synninge" (l. 651), "put" for "pite" (l. 705), "An exhortacion for kepinge of the narowe sees" for "An e. to the kepinge of Walys" (title before l. 784), "estimacion" for "ostentacion" (l. 789), "wyll wyll" for "evyll wyll" (l. 1071), and, a particularly bad case which suggests that the scribe did not understand what he was copying, "in proverbe and text is to oppose" for "In Proverbes a text is to purpose" (l. 1122). Finally, ll. 57, 135, 140-231, 430-431 and 931-951 ⁴ have been dropped; of these ll. 931-951 have been supplied by R II and ll. 140-231 by R III.

¹ *V. inf.*, pp. 414-18. ² Given *sup.*, p. 380. ³ Pp. 406-409, 412-14.

⁴ These twenty-one lines may be the equivalent of one page of the exemplar. Notice that ll. 140-231, which are also omitted, would give twenty-three lines to each of four pages, a closely corresponding figure; two leaves together, however, seems an excessive number to drop, unless as the result of mechanically copying an imperfect manuscript.

(xviii). R II, the earlier¹ of the two repairing hands, has supplied, later in the same century, eighty lines omitted by the original copyist or lacking through the imperfection of the manuscript, and also added seven lines which do not occur in the established text of the *Libelle*. As follows: (a) On an inserted leaf, now f. 3, the missing title and ll. 1-43. This leaf measures 205 × 155 mm. and has a sixteenth-century water-mark (imperfect), which is not in Briquet, namely, a one-handed pitcher on which are the letters [?] and R between a single line and, above, two parallel lines joined by four vertical bars. These lines were copied from a manuscript of the second edition as they have "The Duke of Burgon" for "any prynce" in l. 43.² But they show a number of differences from the generally accepted text, some of which are found elsewhere only in Harl. I and some which are peculiar to R II; these, which are given below,³ include the non-committal reading "For Sigismound the great and noble Empiroure / Of Rome and Almaine, when he was in this land" in ll. 8-9.⁴ (b) On a piece of paper (185 × 150 mm.) attached to the foot of f. 23, ll. 931-951, which were dropped by the original copyist from the middle of that folio. The paper has been cut from a letter, the address being on the reverse in an unidentified mid-sixteenth-century hand: "To the moste Reverende Father in God and my verie good lorde, my lorde of Canterberie his grace, at Canterberie." This bears a water-mark, a little clipped, which is not in Briquet, although it falls into his *Main III* group, a type found only in the sixteenth century; it is similar to his no. 11,387,⁵ including the letters R.P., but adds a bar under the fingers and across the thumb. (c) On a piece of paper (100 × 155 mm.) attached to the foot of f. 24, the seven additional lines referred to above; they replace Warner's l. 993, which has been struck through. They are found also in Harl. I.⁶ This paper, too, has been cut from a letter, the address being on the reverse, also in a sixteenth-century hand but differing from that of (b), namely: [*clipped*] "L. Archbisshoppe off Canterburie his grace." The water-mark has been clipped, the left half only surviving; as, however, it

¹ *V. sup.*, p. 386, n. 5.² *V. sup.*, p. 380.³ Pp. 410-11, 412, 414.⁴ *V. sup.*, p. 380.⁵ 1544, Hamburg.⁶ *V. inf.*, p. 412.

belongs to Briquet's *Lettres Assemblées* group its identification is not impossible and it may be his no. 9632.¹ (d) On f. 2, an original front fly-leaf, the two stanzas of the envoy. These are of the second edition, but with an important difference; Chichele is named as one of the three members of the Council to whom the work was submitted.² In addition to the above, R II also makes three alterations in the text of R I; it adds "strange" before "men" in l. 640 and "I to speake" after "purpose" in l. 914, and alters the title before l. 980 to "An incident of ye great victorye that King Edward the third had both by land and by sea."³

The writer of R II has unfortunately not been identified, but, legitimately or otherwise, he had access to archiepiscopal correspondence, as in two cases he has made use of paper cut from letters addressed to the Archbishop. This possibly, but at this time not necessarily, points to Lambeth and brings to mind the household of Archbishop Parker, who, as is well known, employed amanuenses to supply the deficiencies of manuscripts. But although the mutilated letters themselves may have been addressed to Parker, the repairing hand of R II which used them appears to date from nearer the end of the century. Nor is any copy of the *Libelle* known to have been associated with Parker or with Lambeth. It seems probable that the writer of R II made use of correspondence which had "strayed," in the widest sense of the word.⁴ The connexion of Selden and Hale with Lambeth has been investigated without success.

An interesting point is raised in connexion with the immediate source of R II. In six places in Harl. I a later hand has marked off certain lines,⁵ namely, on ff. 38 (l. 140), 39 (l. 231), 46^v (l. 735, to indicate that Harl. I has here dropped ll. 736-773, and ll. 783*-783**, two additional lines found only in Harl. I), 49^v (ll. 931 and 951) and 50^v (ll. 992 and 994, between which are the seven additional lines found only in Harl. I and R II where

¹ 1569, Tolouse.

² *V. inf.*, p. 411.

³ With minor variations these three readings also occur in Harl. I, *v. inf.*, pp. 401, 403, 405.

⁴ Each Archbishop's Library was, of course, his own property, until the time of Bancroft (d. 1610).

⁵ By drawing a line or a bracket at the side of them.

they replace the single l. 993 of all other known copies). In three of these (ff. 46^v and 50^v) this may have no particular significance, its purpose being merely to indicate an omission from and an addition to the text more usually found. But in the remaining cases the markings coincide with omitted lines supplied by R II (ll. 931-951) and R III (ll. 140-231) to the Rylands manuscript and with the seven additional lines found only in R II and Harl. I. The immediate conclusion is that R II and R III has copied from Harl. I, particularly as each shares a number of distinctive readings with Harl. I in these passages against all other known copies. Collation shows, however, that as regards R III this was not the case (see the next section). R II, or rather that portion of R II comprising ll. 931-951 and the seven additional lines, requires further consideration. Differences of spelling apart, these twenty-eight lines in R II and Harl. I disagree in only a few minor points which could be explained as copyist's errors; namely, in ll. 941 (the eschewing, R II] eschewynge, Harl. I), 942 (Thus, R II] Thys, Harl. I), 946 (subiect, R II] subiectes, Harl. I), 947 (the lorde, R II] he lorde, Harl. I), and 995* (Some, R II] Sone, Harl. I).¹ On the other hand they may not be copyist's errors, and twenty-eight lines are hardly enough on which to base conclusions. More important than this is the fact that the twenty-eight form only *part* of R II, which comprises also ll. 1-43 and the two stanzas of the envoy. The envoy cannot be compared with Harl. I, as it is lacking in that manuscript. But comparison of ll. 1-43 in R II and Harl. I shows clearly that here the two manuscripts are quite independent of each other. Thus, they differ in the title preceding l. 1² and in eight complete lines in the text (ll. 12, 14, 24-28); in ll. 12 and 14 R II disagrees with all other known copies³ whereas Harl. I has the common readings, and in ll. 11, 24-28

¹ L. 995* is one of the seven additional lines.

² R II has: "A treatise or a libe of Englishe pollesie for keping of the narrowe sea, what proffet cometh therby, what worshipp and preseruacion unto our realme of England." Harl. I reads: "Here begynnnyth the prologge off the Byble off Englysshe polecy, exortynge all Yngelond to kepe the see enuyron and namely to kepe the narowe see, showynge what profyite comyth þer off and also worshyppe to the realme off Englund, and specyally to all Englysshe men. Amen."

³ *V. inf.*, pp. 410-11.

R II has the common readings and Harl. I shares G's distinctive lines. In two cases, moreover, R II makes a small addition to Harl. I, in ll. 23 (daunger and woe, R II] daunger, Harl. I) and 31 (good conscience, R II] concyens, Harl. I); the first of these is also the common reading, the second is peculiar to R II. Other important differences occur; for example, R II's readings being given first, in ll. 9 (of Rome and Almaine] Whych late raynyd), 21 (and this] for keypyng off the), 30¹ (at eye the full] openly thys compylyd), 32 (avenst fowle] and to exclude), 34 (And for iiij] Of iiij), 35 (rule] power), 36 (our swordes becum] swerdys kene), 37 (enemies nowe biddne for ye] fomen bydden us for a), 38 (it is fro by noome] or slepyth as y wene), and 41 (yf we will euer thee] and exorte owre ameralte). On this evidence it is clear that ll. 1-43 of R II were not copied from Harl. I. There are thus two alternatives: either the writer of R II copied partly (ll. 1-43) from a manuscript now missing and partly (ll. 931-951 and the seven additional lines) from Harl. I,² or he copied entirely from the missing manuscript. The latter seems much the more probable. Not only is R II in the same hand throughout, but it seems unlikely that the copyist would take forty-three lines from the beginning of one exemplar, and then turn to another for an even smaller number (twenty-one and seven) for the body of his work; particularly as in ll. 1-43 he already had a manuscript with distinctive readings.³ The close agreement of R II and Harl. I in ll. 931-951 and the seven additional lines, therefore, is probably an agreement of their common original; this is supported by the fact that ll. 1-43 also contain readings found elsewhere only in Harl. I.⁴ Nevertheless, the marking off of ll. 931-951 and the seven additional lines in Harl. I can hardly be a coincidence. The most probable explanation seems to be that the Rylands manuscript was at some previous time compared with Harl. I, but *after* its imperfections had been supplied by R II and

¹ Ll. 30-31 are reversed in Harl. I, but in their correct order in R II.

² In this case R II would make good an important deficiency in Harl. I, for the envoy supplied by R II to the Rylands manuscript would, presumably, also have been copied from Harl. I. As already mentioned the envoy is apparently lacking in that manuscript owing to a physical imperfection at the end.

³ *V. inf.*, pp. 410-11.

⁴ *V. inf.*, p. 412.

R III; the reason for the comparison was probably that the two were known to have affinities, including the seven additional lines, not commonly shared by copies of the *Libelle*. When the comparison was made the lines supplied by R II (ll. 931-951 and the additional lines) and R III (ll. 140-231) to the Rylands manuscript were marked off in Harl. I and at the same time the comparison brought to light the fact that Harl. I had dropped ll. 736-773 and added two new lines after l. 783, as mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph; these, likewise, were marked off. This argument is supported by the fact that although R III consists of only ll. 140-231 and although these identical lines have been marked off in Harl. I, R III was not copied from Harl. I, as is shown in the next section. On the above grounds R II is treated here as a distinct manuscript throughout. It is collated below.¹

(xix). R III, a neat, late Elizabethan hand, has supplied the omitted ll. 140-231 of the Rylands manuscript on a pair of leaves sewn in later which measure 214×153 mm. and have a water-mark identical with Briquet's no. 5304; ² they are now numbered ff. 6 and 7. These lines, which were dropped by the original copyist from the present f. 5^v, were taken from a manuscript of the second edition, as they have the reading "Hampton squier" in l. 179.

As mentioned in the preceding section, a later hand has marked l. 140 and l. 231 in Harl. I (ff. 38 and 39 respectively) by drawing a line at the side of each, which raises the question whether this manuscript was R III's exemplar. Collation shows, however, that although the two have a common original,³ R III was not copied from Harl. I. Thus, in place of ll. 162-163 Harl. I has the single distinctive line "On the see sotyll and untrew both thevys and robbers," whereas R III has the common two lines. Similarly, in l. 160 Harl. I reads "That byn on the see and have be many yeres," but R III has "That have ben on the see full many a yere," which is the common reading save for the addition of "full." R III had some difficulty with the first word of l. 185, for he wrote first "Rayding" [*sic*], and

¹ Pp. 409-11, 412, 414.

² 1562-1588, France.

³ *V. inf.*, pp. 411-13.

then altered it to "Raynend" [*sic*], which now stands. In Harl. I the word is written quite clearly and correctly as "Raynyd." In five other cases Harl. I has variants peculiar to itself, against R III which shares the common readings, namely, in ll. 141 (suffer frendes neþer foo, Harl. I] suffred nether frend nor fooe, R III), 145 (than reasyn schewyth this cause, Harl. I] yf reason lad this clause, R III), 149 (For, Harl. I] To, R III), 158 (hit leuith, Harl. I] beleues, R III) and 184 (Herry, Harl. I] Edward, R III). A number of other differences occur, e.g. Harl. I's reading being given first, in ll. 158 (lytyll Bretayn] Britane), 167 (greuyd us full sore] greved us thearefore), 169 (land] England), 183 (And] That), 214 (other] or), 231 (his] that). On this evidence it is clear that R III was not copied from Harl. I. A reason for the marking of l. 140 and l. 231 in Harl. I has been suggested above.¹

(xx). Huntington Library, California, MS. 140, ff. 124-139.² A fifteenth-century copy with a text of the second edition, falling into Warner's DEF group and without the distinctive features which characterise Harl. I and the Rylands manuscript.³

Of the above manuscripts Harl. I, R I, R II and R III, all of which show a text of the second edition, are the most interesting, having many new features in common which are not found in any other known copy. As will be shown, together with CG they form a single group of *Libelle* manuscripts; of this group they themselves are a sub-group. Apart from its many variations from the established text, to which it also adds seven lines, this sub-group has a further interest, in that it provides the only evidence other than conjectural by which to date the second edition. Two previous attempts at dating have been made. Pauli, in his introduction to Herzberg's edition,⁴ sug-

¹ Pp. 391-92.

² Described in S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, i, 57.

³ A personal examination of this manuscript has not been possible and the above is based on information kindly forwarded by Mr. R. B. Haselden, Curator of Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, who very generously examined a number of relevant passages for me.

⁴ W. Herzberg, *The Libell of Englishe Policye, 1436* (1878), Intro., p. 16. Four manuscripts only were used for this edition, A, B, C and D, and for the first three Herzberg apparently relied entirely on Wright's printed text in the Rolls Series (*Political Poems and Songs, Edward III—Richard II*, vol. ii, 1861, pp. 157-205). See Warner, pp. ix, x, note 2.

gested late 1442 or the Spring of 1443, although on what grounds is not very clear.¹ Warner was of the opinion that this date should be set back to "at least as early as 1438," for "there is no reason to suppose that the two editions were separated by so long an interval as six years," and "no change is made in ll. 460-469, 496-511, where the author argues that all foreign merchants should be compelled to 'go to host,' though an Act to that effect was passed in 1439, nor again in ll. 1084-1087, though the expectation which he there expresses, that Flanders would soon make overtures for peace, had already been realized in November 1438, and negotiations were begun shortly after."² More concrete evidence is provided by Harl. I and R II, with both of which Pauli and Warner were unacquainted. In his praise of Edward III in chapter xi the author mentions the Battle of Sluys. He does not give it more than a reference, however, for, in the words of the established text :³

"Hit was so late done that ye it knowe, [1006]
In comparison wythine a lytel throwe. [1007]"

Harl. I makes a change here, reading (f. 51) :

"For to saye þe troughte [truth] yt was but lately don,
But lytell more then an hundryd wynter agon."

This could not have been written before the Summer of 1440. Harl. I, in fact, makes another change which suggests that its text does not date before June of the following year. Towards the end of the same chapter, in recalling the siege of Harfleur and the Battle of the Seine, the author refers his reader for more precise information to the King's Chamberlain (Sir William Phelip), who was present :

"Ther was presente the kynges chamburleyne [1030]
At both batayles, whiche knowethe this in certayne ; [1031]
He can it tell other wyse than I. [1032]
Aske hym and witt ; I passe forthe hastelye." [1033]

¹ See Warner, p. xii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xii-xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Thus the established text.¹ But Harl. I reads (f. 51^v):

"Ther was present þe kynges chamburlyayne
At bothe batelles, yt was knowen in certayne;
The boke can tell oþerwyse then I.
Loke on yt, for I passe forth shortly."

The replacement of "He can it tell . . . aske hym" by "loke on the boke" takes on a special significance when it is remembered that Phelip died on 6th June, 1441. If the alteration was made as a result of his death,² which seems very probable, nor does it in any way conflict with the previous evidence, we have proof not only that Harl. I post-dates 6th June, 1441, but that the second edition of the *Libelle* has survived in two forms; the earlier, represented by the text known to Pauli and Warner, issued between 9th December, 1437,³ and 6th June, 1441, and the later, represented by the new sub-group to which Harl. I belongs and whose distinctiveness has already been indicated, issued after the latter date. The length of the interval between their appearance cannot be stated exactly, for it should also be noted that on present evidence the earlier form cannot be dated more closely than 1437/41. Warner's argument⁴ for placing the second edition "at least as early as 1438" was based on the assumption that had it been issued after the Flemish overtures

¹ See Warner, p. 52.

² Two other changes made by Harl. I in the interests of sense should be noticed here. Most copies in referring to the siege of Calais (also in chapter xi) state that "Olde men sawe it whiche lyven." Warner (p. 97, note to l. 987) remarks that this can hardly be taken literally and draws attention to the fact that the scribes of A²B seem to have recognized the difficulty by omitting "whiche lyven." Harl. I makes a similar alteration, reading (f. 50^v) "Meny men sawe ytt" for "Old . . . lyven." Secondly, Harl. I substitutes "latly" for "thys yere" in l. 806 (f. 47), a change also made by A². But Harl. I was seemingly not acquainted with the Flemish overtures of November, 1438, and the Statute of 1439, which would have involved alterations in ll. 460-469, 496-511 and 1084-1087 (see below in this paragraph). This, however, would have involved knowledge as distinct from common-sense, which dictated the other two changes just mentioned. The death of a figure like Sir William Phelip, Lord Bardolf, K.G., a Treasurer of the Household to Henry V, and Chamberlain of the Household from 1432 to 1441, who had served at Agincourt and in Normandy, being Captain of Harfleur, 1421-1422, would presumably be well known.

³ The date of Sigismund's death (*v. sup.*, p. 380).

⁴ Cited *sup.*, p. 394.

of November, 1438, and the Statute of 1439, lines 460-469, 496-511 and 1084-1087 would not have been retained unchanged from the first edition, but would have been altered accordingly. This, however, now breaks down, for these lines also remain unchanged in Harl. I,¹ which, as we have seen, could not have been written before the Summer of 1440 and was probably issued after 6th June, 1441. Harl. I does not contain any indication of its *terminus ad quem*, but R II, a very closely allied manuscript belonging to the same sub-group,² states, in the second stanza of the envoy (which Harl. I lacks), that Chichele was one of the three members of the Council to whom the work was submitted. Chichele died on 12th April, 1443.

Collation of Harl. I, R I, R II and R III is complicated by a "break" in Harl. I with l. 686 and by the fact that R I, R II and R III, each representing a distinct manuscript, together make up a single copy of the *Libelle*; moreover, R II consists of eighty-seven lines only and R III of ninety-two. Accordingly it has been considered sufficient to assign each copy to its respective group, noting the evidence for intermixture.

Harl. I and G. C, G, Harl. I, R I, R II and R III form a single group, having a great number of variants, additions and omissions in common which are found in no other group of manuscripts. The agreement of Harl. I with G,³ however, does not run evenly throughout; it disappears suddenly at a point corresponding to the foot of Harl. I, f. 45^v. But for the first 685 lines (Harl. I, ff. 1-45^v) Harl. I and G are very closely allied. Thus, both introduce two distinctive and identical lines for the single l. 52 more usually found and both substitute the same two lines for the more common four in ll. 110-113 and the same four for the more common two in ll. 598-599.⁴

¹ Ff. 42-42^v (ll. 460-469), 42^v-43 (ll. 496-511) and 52^v (ll. 1084-1087).

² *V. inf.*, pp. 409-11, 412, 414.

³ In the following collations C, a faulty and corrupt copy whose variants are hardly worth recording, is ignored (*v. sup.*, p. 379, n. 6). It should be added that Harl. I, R I, R II, and R III are in any case much nearer G than C.

⁴ G also substitutes two different lines for the more usual four in ll. 70-73. Harl. I has the first of these, agreeing with G, and then passes immediately to l. 74, breaking the sense. Apparently the second line was dropped in copying, and so this should probably be added to the instances in which G and Harl. I agree.

Harl. I shares all other of G's numerous distinctive lines in this section,¹ e.g. ll. 11, 24-28, 49, 65, 95, 97, 139 (including "duryng"), 142-143, 146-147, 177, 186, 205, 211-212, 299, 303, 329, 350, 438, 455, 475, 477, 479, 486-487, 495, 500, 502, 504, 526, 541, 553, 605, 627, 635 and 655, and both introduce a title before l. 618 although it interrupts the sense of the passage;² they agree, too, in the title before l. 680. Other distinctive agreements between this portion of Harl. I and G are even more numerous, ranging from individual words to half-lines; thus they occur, to cite only a hundred examples in ll. 2 (as towarde), 5 (for them that saylen), 9 (whych late raynyd), 19 (ryghte), 32 (and to exclude), 36 (kene), 38 (or slepyth as y wene), 41 (and exorte owre ameralte), 43 (*add.* Phelyppe), 53 (as men sayne), 58 (and all thys), 61 (ys per repayre), 67 (nobull), 83 (I counte hym but), 85 (londys), 105 (wolle yt), 134 (suche other), 144 (owe not for to be the cause), 152 (both), 174 (ys *and* grett reuth), 176 (of an), 204 (and sone), 215 (at his), 230 (But whan), 235 (than were ryght), 243 (Whith in), 264 (ayen w^t outtyn ly), 268 (byn chargyd), 281 (but yff they were for lorne), 298 (not ons stere), 300 (and seth men saide), 307 (ther to be bowgh[t]), 315 (att the hare), 320 (that), 335 (ashen), 373 (be dene), 340 (goodes to sell and), the title before l. 344 (grett galleyys [*sic*]), 347 (and all), 351 (not duryng *and* full ofte bey), 354 (Hit ys and yett), 361 (ne), 363 (more), 371 (enserch experiens), 375 (thynges), 378 (for others), 389 (will make), 395 (be fayt off), 396 (Straungers), 407 (made agayne there), 409 (comme), 413 (nothing), 424 (pens fele), 434 (lestenyth), 441 (hit takyn money), 442 (payment), 450 (att the), 454 (prouerbe *and* or), 460 (long), 462 (other *and* be), 465 (In Brabant and Seland), 471 (by our dore saylyth), 473 (sor I me), 474 (sum tyme were), 491 (Which *and* and so grett his), 501 (wele), 516 (In als many dayes), 520 (at the *and* dyschargyd), 522 (And), 537 (doth all þ^t), 538 (neyther), 554 (we were restreynt), 557 (Hit is as *and* contrey), 564 (the foresaid), 575 (take and noye), 577 (drede), 583 (Thys causyth *and* and synguler), 591 (ys the), 593 (longynge to), 600 (we *and*

¹ With one exception, l. 637, for which *v. inf.*, p. 399, n. 2.

² This title is also found in F, which otherwise differs considerably from G and Harl. I.

wyllynge), 604 (he haȝe betyn us), 608 (for untrewē poudre), 617 (So myghte we haue the), 619 (as), 626 (of good), the title before l. 638 (There ys), 639 (off ȝe grete declaryd ys), 643 (nedyth gretly), 657 (ȝeroff summ I woll tytell ; G *has* wyl I), 659 (and faldynge), 666 (of oure kynge callyd), 675 (att all), 676 (other costes), 678 (theron shyppys), and 679 (from enemyes fore to). Harl. I and G also share a number of omissions. Thus, both drop ll. 55 and 421-422 ; the omission of ll. 421-422 is particularly striking, as this appears to be, originally, due to a *saut du même au même*¹ Other omissions which they have in common occur in the title before l. 1 (and salvacione), l. 134 (hydes), the title before l. 150 (wyth here revers on the see), 315 (hay), 336 (gode), 470 (nowe), 485 (londe), and 559 (peple).² Notwithstanding the many cases in which they coincide in this portion of the work, however, there are many differences between them. In ll. 4 (on off ȝe), 115 (the), 119 (and), 397 (out of), 498 (schuld), 609 (cast) and 661 (other) Harl. I shares the more common readings against G where that manuscript has distinctive variants, and in other cases agrees with individual manuscripts against G, e.g. ll. 2 (realme, F), 63 (ar offte, F), 159 (robers, BH), 216 (iiij, *om.* B), 223 (for, *om.* B), 255 (for nothing, H), the title before l. 276 (Ducheland, F), 314 (hogges, D), 338 (Whith, DEF), 385 (yonger, B) and 529 (bryngyng, AHa). More important than these are the numerous instances, including over eighty entire lines, in which Harl. I differs from all the copies consulted for the 1926 edition, including G ; these are given below.³

Moreover the coincidences of Harl. I and G cover only a certain portion of the work. They end at a point corresponding almost exactly to the foot of Harl. I, f. 45^v.⁴ With f. 46—l. 686,

¹ Ll. 421 and 423 both begin " In the Englysshe pounce."

² The omissions in the title before l. 150 and in ll. 470 and 559 are also shared by B. For a note on B *v. sup.*, pp. 380-82.

³ Pp. 400-406.

⁴ Note that Harl. I and G agree against all other copies in the title preceding l. 680, six lines only from the foot of f. 45^v, proof that it is not this new section of the *Libelle* which marks the break. No variants for comparison with G occur in these six lines (680-685). Harl. I marks its divergence by disagreeing with the first variant of G which occurs after this point, in l. 690 (godde metall, Harl. I] also, G).

about one quarter way through chapter ix¹—the two diverge so sharply, although without change of hand, as to suggest that the scribe of Harl. I here turned to another exemplar.² For after this point the variants shared by Harl. I and G are as few as previously they were numerous and all are of a minor character, namely, "trewly" (l. 705), "wyll" (l. 708), "loste" (l. 718), "rounde aboute" (l. 734), "we" (l. 804), "longyd" (l. 939), "knowe" (l. 982), "they" (l. 991), "farr the" (l. 1013) and "w^t oute warr" (l. 1102). With the remaining variants of G which fall in this portion of the work, and they are numerous, Harl. I disagrees. Thus, whereas previously it shared G's distinctive lines, it now disagrees with all of them, namely, ll. 713 (which falls on f. 46 itself), 720, 774, 812, 816-817, 824, 848, 852-855, 888-889, 896, 906, 911, 916, 926-929, 937, 1063, 1064-1069, and 1077;³ in ll. 713, 774, 888-889, 896, 916 and 926 it shares the more common readings against G and in the remainder has itself distinctive lines. Similarly, with the ten exceptions just noticed, it disagrees with G's minor variants. In many cases it shares the common readings or the variants of individual copies⁴ against G, as in ll. 703 (o^per), 715 (lorne), 718 (ther), 725 (of, FH), 728 (trewe), 730 (yt be), 734 (to, A²), 775 (trowe full), 778 (Hath), 788 (ferde), 789 (off, DEF), 837 (of oure), 842 (Harflete, BD and at, BDEF), 844 (and cryed on), 888 (werre, AHa), 920 (cronycle, A²BF), 953 (myrth for (and) trewth, BDEF), 957 (and), 960 (on (in) a certayne daye), 979

¹ That is, as the previous note also indicates, the divergence does not correspond with any new chapter or section of the *Libelle*.

² If so, it has survived only in Harl. I and the Rylands manuscript. There is a possible indication on f. 45 that the scribe of Harl. I was drawing on more than one manuscript. He first wrote l. 637 as "Thatt they shall neuer haue luste to goo to þe see," which is the reading commonly found, save for the addition of "þe." He then altered this to "to goo and kepe þe see." G, which has a line peculiar to itself here, reads "(And lese thayr corayge) to go to kepe the see."

³ Certain of G's distinctive lines happen to fall in passages which are lacking in Harl. I and so cannot be included in the above comparison. For these passages *v. sup.*, p. 384.

⁴ With the exception of G and the Rylands manuscripts, Harl. I has no close connexion with any of the remaining extant copies, although on rare occasions it shares a minor variant with one or other of them; B, A² and F are the most favoured in this respect.

(kyng), 987 (whyche (this) ys no dowte), 990 (Off shypppe and, AA²F), 1016 (trowe, A²), 1024 (The Duke, B), 1025 (they were), 1036 (Prouysyon), 1060 (to stoppe), 1071 (of, *om.* B), 1086 (embassytours), 1088 (Goddess, B), and 1091 (fynally, AHa). Throughout, too, Harl. I omits lines and passages¹ which are included in G and also adds a number of lines not in that copy.² Even more frequently it disagrees both with G and with all the other copies consulted by Warner, of both the first and second edition. In a number of these cases it agrees with the Rylands manuscripts,³ in others its readings are unique. These differences, which include many entire lines and series of lines, occur throughout Harl. I but are particularly marked in that portion of it comprised in f. 46 to end; its distinctiveness is the main feature of this latter portion of Harl. I, as is shown by the subjoined list.

The following entire lines and titles are peculiar to Harl. I: Title before l. 570, A conclusyon to kepe the sea; lines 699, We remembr yt not nor take non hedde; 782, To consyder thys couetyse worlde so ouerthawrte; 783*, Wherfor helpe Ihesu to the dayle I crye; 783**, Sende us conforte of oure enemyes to have victory;⁴ 784, See we well to Walys and peroff take we godde kepe; 793, Loke well upon the mater, and take godde hede; 799, There moste stufte ys stockfysse in very dede; 807, That for lacke of freyghte they camm lere; 808, Iselande coude nott fynde them freyghte; 809, Unto p^e halffe, so lytell they had keyghte; 811, And intende to wryte for sure kepyng off p^e sees; 818, For the love of God and hys dere blessyng also; 819, Se euer to Calyce to and froo; 824, But shorttly redresse yt in any wyse; 825, And make no delays I yowe advyse; 838, Loke howe harde at the fyrste yt was; 839, To gete Calyce in euery cace; 840, Yff nowe we sholde lose yt, yt wer grete shame; 841, Tendyr thys well and kepe us from p^t blame; 848, The worlde was deff and toke no credens; 849, So Harflete was loste w^t oute owre lycens; 853, Thatt oure nobulnes performyd may bee; 854, And ouer oure shyppes sheweth boldly the sayles;

¹ Noticed above, p. 384.

² *V. inf.*, n. 4, p. 401, n. 1, 402, n. 1.

³ These agreements are listed below, pp. 412-14.

⁴ Two additional lines, following Warner's l. 783.

855, Burnysshed w^t p^e armys of Ynglonde fastenyd w^t sewr nayles ; 857, To chastyc oure enemyes p^t be vyolent ; 858, We sholde walke p^e narowe see to and froo ; 859, To fere oure guymyes [*sic*, guns] as ofte .as they cum or goo ; 860, Beholde through all places off Crystantee ; 861, Of p^e Narowe See be no suche masters as we bee ; 862, All other nacyons sholde oure prynce drede ; 863, And fayne to please hys grace, thus I rede ; 865, As in cronycle yt ha^p^e byn ofte y tolde ; 874, He was an holy man and full devoute ; 875, He passyd meny o^rer, I putt yowe oute of dowte ; 884, Yett of thys mater shall I multiply ; 885, Off ij condycyons callyd hys polecy ; 898, He spyed them grete and smale euery on ; 899, He dyd justyce on them whyche he founde falce ; 899*, Putt them to exsyle and henge sum by the halce ;¹ 900, Howe the ryche lordys and barons of hys lande ; 901, Wolde no wronge execute nor non take on hande ; 902, Hys statutys wer obeyyd and hys decrees ; 903, They wer well kepte in all countrees ; 906, To order hys pepull was hys grete besynes ; 907, Well was he war p^t no men off grete ryches ; 908, As men off myghte in cyte and in towne ; 911, Enserchars to sende aboute in euery syde ; 913, As a victor[i]ous prince and an holy kynge ; 922, In somer tyme wolde he euer trewlye ; 923, Thatt hys shyppes shold at p^e see² euer redy ; 929,³ Myghty and stronge and off warr they had the feette ; 930, Suche a semely syghte, joye yt was to see ; 959, Whyche cam to hym by ther owne assent ; 961, He bade p^t hys shyppes sholde be redy in a raye ; 962, To sayle to summ holy place he had lyste ; 963, To vysett p^t holy man Seynt John Baptyst [*sic*] ; 977, Off lande and see he was so worp*i* and so wyse ; title before l. 980, An incydent off the grete vycory thatt kynge Edward the thyrde had bothe on see and londe ;⁴ 983, Bothe by londe and by water ; 997, Owre gounnes taughte them suche langage ; 1006, For to saye p^e troughte yt was but lately don ; 1007, But lytell mor then an hundryd wynter a gon ;⁵ 1008, Wherfor gyve we to God honour and glory ; 1009, For as lorde off the see oure kynge had the victory ; 1019, Lorde and

¹ An additional line, following Warner's l. 899.

³ Ll. 928-929 are reversed in Harl. I.

⁵ For ll. 1006-1007 *v. sup.*, p. 394.

² ? Supply "be."

⁴ *V. sup.*, p. 389.

gouvernour of the narowe see ; 1020, And when he had seyged Harflewe a bowte ; 1025*, Ther was godde lacchyng of strokys grete ; 1025**, Who had them they woll nott forgete ;¹ 1031, At bothe batelles, yt was knowen in certayne ; 1032, The boke can tell oþerwyse then I ; 1033, Loke on yt, for I passe forth shortly ;² 1053, Was neuer better princes [*sic for prince*] off Crystantee ; 1057, For yt sholde be knowen thatt he was chyffe ; 1062, That no shyppe sholde pas in no maner ; 1063, W^t oute oure lycence or elles be in oure daunger ; 1064, For the love of Cryste and hys tender dame ; 1065, Helpe to kepe Ingelonde oute of trobull and blame ; 1067, Thatt w^t yn oure selffe be no varyaunce ; 1119, And hys preceptes also, in slouth þ^t we nott slepe ; 1126 *sqq.* (replacing 1126-1141, which are not included), Praye we to God in love and charyte, / To save and kepe Ynglond from aduersyte. / Also praye we to oure blessyd lady, moder and mayde, / Ynglonde to prosper, sokoure and ayde. Amen.

The following variants, ranging from individual words to half-lines, are also peculiar to Harl. I: ³ ll. 3, oure] *om.* ;⁴ 15, the] owre ; 16, Whan] When þat ; 29, Therfore] Wherfor ; a] thys ; 32, Ayenst] As auenste ; 35, Kyng] That ys kynge ; and swerde] swerde ; 37, enmyes] fomen ; bid] bydden us ; the] a ; 39, Who dare weel say that] Who durste yt say ; 42, kepe] kepe well ; 45, of] off þ^e ; 46, the floures] owre name ; 49, wyl not, G] we woll ; title before l. 50, after " Flaundres " *adds* And off the condycyons off þ^e pepull off thos ij contrees as her afftyr folowyth ; 59, Is into Flaundres] In to Fl. ben ; 63, many] as meny ; 69, weell ellis] all ; 77, yf ye be] yet be ye ; 78, The grete] For þ^e ⁵ Grete ; 79, ye make hit] þ^t ye make ; 99, hit cometh] cum ; 101, gretter] moste ; 106, trust] truste well ; 111, so fyn, G] fyne ; 116, londe] pryde ; 117, to] off ; 120, leffe or lothe] labor ; 126, of] in ; 134, and salt] salte ; 135, wolde to Flaundres passe] wolle passe to Fl ; 141, sufferede nethere frende

¹ Two additional lines, following Warner's l. 1025.

² For ll. 1031-1033 *v. sup.*, p. 395.

³ Obvious corruptions are not included (for examples of these *v. sup.*, pp. 383-84), nor are variants such as "to" for "into" or "hem was" for "was hem" (l. 436).

⁴ The first reading given is that of the established text, the second that of Harl. I.

⁵ "For þe" written in the margin.

ner] suffer frendes neþer; 145, yf] than; lede thys clausse] schewyth this cause; 149, To] For; 158, Bretayn] lytyll B; 158, levys] hit leuith; 159, strongest, G] strenuyst; 160, many a yere] and haue be many yeres; for ll. 162-163, On the see sotyll and untrew both thevys and robbers; 169, England] land; 183, That] And; 187, hartelye] so hertly; 234, othere partees] all other places; 244, Thys] Thus the; 247, Ar felles] Byn fell; 250, And all here woll] And there wollys; 270, thys] the; 272, thys] the; title before l. 276, Esterlynges] E. also; 286, Or] And or; 293, trusse and] fast; 294, hyede] heyd hym; title before l. 306, ensuene] *om.*; 335, Woll-oyle] Oyle; 337, they be] byth; 348, japes and] japes; 355, Englonde] land; 361, Turbit] Ne also of; 369, sentence] saying; 374, for] w^t; 388, of suche] *om.*; 392, us] be; 394, have] syth haue; 397, away] *om.*; 405, wol it] wold; 417, xij penyes] xijd. evyn; golden] *om.*; 418, of] a full; 431 lyve] be; sothe] the s.; 433, to] tyll; 440, her wolles] any woll; 447, undertakyng] undurstanddyng; 449, have chaffare sounde] chafere rownd; 452, will so] wold; 460, that] and that; 461, in] w^t in; 485, Schalbe] Shuld be; 491, yet] hit; 497, cuntrees] contre; 499, Now] *om.*; 508, cuntres] contre; 510, muche] *om.*; title before l. 512, here] the; 514, the] all; 531, Flaundres] In Fl.; 540, so tho] sone schuld theyre; wolde full evel] full euyll thryue and; title before l. 542, And Selande] S.; 550 that] ne that; 551, frome oute of] be; not be] and not out of; 556, wythdrawene] draw; 575, As] And; 595, were] ytt wer; 605, slaundre, G] clamor; 606, fames] fame; 607, and there names] w^t ther name; 608, Why] Howe; 613, hem gode] then worshyppe; 618, Than shall] But þen sholde; 623, and saved by] under; 640, men, G] straunge men; 643, The] Owre; 647, of hem muste] her off muste ofte; 648, now in no sele] y yowe telle; 654, And] And loste oure; on] ouer; title before l. 656, and conquerynge of] w^t c. off the; 656, I caste] I purpose; 657, Commoditees] The c.; 658, and fish] fysshe; 659, wollen] w. cloþ^e; and] Yrysshe; 667, is] maximus; also] *om.*; 671, none enmye shulde] oure enemyes sholde nott; 673, see] narowe see; 677, there] suche; 685, is] yt ys; 686, For of sylvere and golde] Off golde and syluer; 688, ar] byn; 689, if we had] we haue; 690, metall

for] godde metall ; 693, from thens gold oore] golde fro thens ; 698, That] Howe ; and for] and ; 703, eche] eche on ; 708, It] That ytt ; it woll be] and ; 709, if] *om.* ; thow Ihesu] O I. ; 710, leve bysyde] laye a syde ; 711, is] for shame ; 714, Of fertile] To fortefye ; whiche myghte] that maye ; 715, nyghe] *om.* ; 717, kyngel] a k. ; 720, seyne, whyche folyne not ne] sayeth, w^t folys ys noughte to ; 727, there] whyche ; 730, Ihesu] *om.* ; 732, and of] and ; 735, devoute] put us oute off doute ; 777, owne] oure ; 780, Oure] Off ; 783, for sore of] I am so sore at ; title before l. 784, the kepyngel] kepe sewrly ; 788, Men] For men ; 790, Seche] Therfor seke ; wyth a discrete avyse] in dyscrete wyse ; 792, For to rebellen that] To suffer them to rebell ; 796, for harme that may ben used] p^t yt be nott mys usyd ; 797, Or] Thatt ; mutt ye bene] ye be nott ; title before l. 798, Of . . . narowe see] Off the commodytees off Iselande, for stockfysse, and kepyngel] p^e narowe see ; 800, costis] other c. ; 803, yeres and] moneth ; 805, Of] Fro ; 806, now so fele shippes thys yere] so meny shyppes latly ; 810, Thene] Nowe ; the] ther ; 812, they be] loke thow [*sic*] be ; 813, chefely] sewrly ; sharply] well ; 814, and as thus] ys all where I meve ; 815, godewyll of us] owre leve ; 816, And] But yff ; the] *om.* ; 817, What] Bothe ; in oure] for ther ; 820, See well therto] Cherysse ytt well ; 821, That] Off ; tellen that woll] whyche wyll ; lies] lesyngges ; 822, And] *om.* ; that writyngel] by w. whyche ; 826, wenythe the fole who so] wote we yff p^t we ; 827, harme it were gode] and rebuke yt wer ; for] *om.* ; 828, What] Myche ; for all this] to all ; 830, That] For ; made] he made ; 833, did] he made ; 835, I caste] I shall caste me ; 837, oure] oure Englysshe ; 846, pleylnly] secretly ; 847, and I thereone] ther dyd I ytt ; title before l. 852, of commoditees of dyuerse] of dyuerse commodytees ; of kepyngel] of the see environ] howe we sholde kepe the see all a bowte ; 856, sharp and extente] as golde brent ; 864, Thus prove I well] I prove yt well ; 869, Prince] Off ony prince ; 870, gode] godde, so hardy ; 873, other before] meny other befor hym ys ; 877, ne] and ; 878, Than] As ; 880, as] also ; was] as was ; 881, worthy] worthy and nobull ; 882, not write more] wryte nomor ; 883, ne of his holynesse] can I nomor

expresse ; 886, this is no] yt was to ; 887, wythoute] þ^t made
 hys enemyes to lowte ; 889, seemen into] men in ; 890, aboute
 by] all a bowte w^t ; 891, perceyvynge his princes] w^t prudens
 pereles ; 892, and] and gentyles and ; 893, to] was in ; 904,
 these] thys ; 910, as in this] all the ; 912, for the publique
 thinge] in hys tyme lyvyng ; 914, to the purpose in] purpose
 I to speke off ; 915, was] ys ; 919, Statelye] Abyll ; 920, seyth]
 sayeth that ; full] *om.* ; 921, longen] longyth ; 924, of gode]
 and of goddely ; 925, of beste assay] yff nede wer to make a
 fraye ; 927, not lyght] to myche ; on] a ; 928, wolde entre]
 pepull enteryd ; 952, I] as yett I ; 954, grauntyd hym God
 suche] God gaue hym suche a ; 956, That sumtyme] On a tyme ;
 957, yerles] lordes ; 958, fele were there] w^t meny other thatt
 wer ; 960, To] To se ; in] on ; 964, to yerles, lordes, knyghtes]
 hys lordes w^t meny a knyghte ; 965, Many] And meny ; to]
 in ; 966, And for hymselfe and for] Afor he went w^t ; 967,
 Subdite] Subiectes ; kepe one of] them ; 968, shipp] shyppe
 was redy and he ; 969, did] gan ; 971, At the ore holes] And
 bygan to rowe ; 972, satte in the ship] at the sterne ; 973, As
 sterisman] Lord God, so well ; 974, rowynge] saylynge ; 975,
 princes many a] suche a syghte of princes meny ; 976, on] off the ;
 978, aright the] of ryghte grete ; 980, I passe and] speke I nowe
 and off ; 981, knowe] haue hurde off ; 982, The siege of] Howe
 he seged ; 984, Howe] Howe longe ; 985, After] A non affter ;
 987, Olde men sawe it whiche lyven, this] Meny men sawe ytt
 whyche ; 989, Late] Was ; 990, no besegynge] lytell sege ;
 991, not come for fere] cum no ner ; 992, no thyng beseged]
 but lytell seged ; 995, No sege] No thyng elles ; myght] myghte
 be ; 996, have knyghtes ferre in age] was to them owtrage ;
 998, But] *om.* ; a] suche a ; 999, And] Thatt he ; and] of Calyce ;
 1000, was] was well ; 1001, Thus] Therfor ; coigned of] to
 be coyned in ; 1002, no navey in] non oþer naye on ; 1004,
 ye] as ye ; 1005, leve] leve yt ; title before l. 1010, of the] the ;
 merveillouse] moste m. ; 1010, yf] yff þ^t ; the] þ^t nobull ; 1013,
 all] *om.* ; 1015, as] þ^t ; 1017, tho] hys ; and] *om.* ; 1022, wyll-
 ynge] they wer w. ; 1023, multitude of] myche grete ; 1024,
 came one] went forþ^e ; 1025, by that] and putt to ; 1026, the
 kynge Hareflew had] þ^t Hareflete was ; 1027, to besege] the

sege ; 1028, That] They wer ; was] *om.* ; or] and ; 1029, of his] all oure ; 1034, What had] Thys hath ; of] off hys ; 1035, Of] *om.* ; of] *om.* ; 1037, agilate] and agylte ; 1039, Atemperaunce, noblesse and] Temperaunce, ryallte, and myche ; 1040, equyte] and e. ; 1042, seyde] forsayde ; 1043, A braunche of] Above them ; lyche hem] *om.* ; 1047, I stony in my] yt ys joyfull to ; 1048, here] *om.* ; his noblesse] all hys nobulnes ; 1049, whome] whom I leve ; 1050, Of] *om.* ; of the] made off ; 1051, see] the see ; 1052, leve endely for aboute in] saye surelye as for a boutte ; 1054, to this tyme lyved] levyd ony longur ; 1059, aboute the rounde] off *p^e* narowe ; 1060, hens] fro hens ; 1061, gode] goddys ; wysely brought it thens] a byn oure defence ; 1066, a] a godde ; 1068, To] In ; unanimite] unyte ; 1069, to] to geder ; for to kepe] and kepe well ; 1071, evyl] yll ; 1074, and in] for oure ; 1075, to] *om.* ; drede] put into drede 1076, For whiche] Wherfor ; to] for ; 1077, thyrifte to standen and to] thyrffte wyll wane and ;¹ 1082, But] *om.* ; her] *om.* ; 1083, The] Be the ; 1086, while and] tyme *p^{ey}* wolde sende ; 1087, Wolde bene] To be ; to] for to ; 1089, And] *W^t* ; the] *om.* ; 1090, bataile] warr ; 1092, the see abought] well *p^e* narowe sea ; 1094, As thoughe] And yff ; lykened] lyke ; 1095, wall environ] walles abowte ; 1098, That] Then ; is] wer ; 1102, togedre] *w^t* o^{er} landes ; 1103, in verry] or malyce in pur ; 1114, mot] shall ; 1115, maken pease, that is] makyth peace and ; 1118, the weyes for] that wayes ; 1124, unto oure] God and ther ; 1125, converte and brynge to] sett *p^e* reame in (*stained*) and godde ; *Explicit*, Here] Thys ; the libelle of] *om.* ; all Englande] Englysshe men ; to kepe the see, *etc.*] to applye (*illegible*) kepe the narowe see, showyng worshyppe and profyte comyth ther off to all Ynglonde a(*nd* ?).²

R I, Harl. I and G. R I, unlike Harl. I, presents a straightforward text for collation, with no sudden divergence. It

¹ Most copies appear to have had some difficulty with this half-line (see Warner's collation) ; similar difficulties appear elsewhere (e.g. in ll. 146, 173, 350, 723), a possible indication that the author's manuscript was in draft form.

² Clipped. The copy of the *Libelle* in Harl. I ends imperfectly, lacking one folio, which contained the last few words of the *Explicit* and, apparently, the envoy.

belongs to the same group as G and Harl. I, ff. 1-45^v. Thus,¹ with them it substitutes two lines for the more usual four in ll. 110-113 and four for the more usual two in ll. 598-599; shares with them the following entire lines not found in any other copy, 49, 65, 97, 139, 142-143, 146-147, 177, 186, 205, 211-212, 299, 303, 329, 350, 438, 455, 475, 477, 479, 486-487, 500, 502, 504, 526, 541, 553, 605 and 627; the introduction of the title before l. 618, which breaks the sense, and the title before l. 680; the omission of ll. 55, 421-422, and of a number of individual words, as "hydes" (l. 134), "gode" (l. 336), "nowe" (l. 470), "londe" (l. 485), and "peple" (l. 559); and many variants of a more minor character, ranging from half-lines to single words, e.g. in ll. 58, 61, 83, 85, 105, 134, 235, 264, 281, 298, 300, 307, 315, 320, 337, 340, the title before l. 344, 347, 351, 361, 363, 378, 389, 395, 396, 407, 413, 434, 441, 442, 450, 454, 460, 462, 465, 471, 473, 474, 491, 516, 520, 537, 538, 554, 557, 564, 575, 577, 583, 591, 593, 600, 604, 608, 619, 626, the title before l. 638, 639, 643, 657, 659, 666, 675, 676 and 679.² Unlike Harl. I, however, which, as indicated above, diverges from G with l. 686, R I carries its coincidences evenly throughout. Thus, it continues its major agreements with G to the end of the work, the two sharing the following entire lines against all other copies: 713, 720, 723, 753, 759, 774, 812, 816-817, 824, 848, 852-855, 896, 906, 911, 916, 926-929, 1077 and 1113. Similarly, with minor variants, which the two continue to share, as in ll. 690 (allso), 699 (your wyttes and), 705 (truly), 708 (will), 710 (put a syde), 722 (and provyd well), 728 (very), 734 (rownde abowte), 745 (As), 748 (And by), 752 (the same londe to be), 758 (thorowghe badd gouernance), 760 (where we lese), 762 (speake and seide), 769 (in iiij yere), 778 (Oft hathe), 782 (and allso smarte), 784 (The warde), 785 (chylterne), 788 (in drede), 790 (therfor), 794 (unfayned), 797 (ellys mote), 799 (for *and* there beinge), 803 (W^tin this xij yere), 806 (were this yere there), 813 (specyally kepe well), 815 (Let not enemyes passe; G *has noon for not*), 822 (by wrytinge that), 837

¹ It should be remembered that ll. 1-43, 140-231, 931-951 and the envoy are lacking in R I and that ll. 57, 135 and 430-431 have also been dropped.

² For the variants shared by G, Harl. I and R I in these lines *v. sup.*, pp. 397-98.

(rehersyd of), 838 (howe harde yt was Calleys), 839 (Therfor), 840 (Calleys), 844 (allso), 866 (yf I wolde), 875 (vertues and), 890 (Englonde), 891 (to perceyve), 897 (thus), 900 (allso), 908 (neyther in cytie ne), 913 (Thus occupied hym), 930 (To the see longinge), 953 (truthe), 956 (ons), 960 (shortly to saye), 961 (in that), 962 (hym), 964 (to the lordes and to the), 978 (aright of hys magnanimite), 982 (knowe), 987 (yet a rowte), 990 (Of shippes by), 991 (they), 1013 (farre the), 1015 (arne nowe but), 1025 (them), 1029 (the), 1036 (Perfeccion), 1102 (w^touten warr), 1115 (w^{ch} is named), 1130 (steigh), 1133 (irridiate). R I shares, too, the only omissions peculiar to G which fall in this portion of the work, in ll. 761 (welle), 763 (ful), 784 (Ihesu), and 811 (well).

Although the relationship between them is clearly a very close one and their numerous coincidences point to a common origin, R I has also many differences from G throughout the work which shows that it cannot have been derived from that manuscript. The twelve distinctive lines with which G begins chapter xii are not found in R I which here has the common and shorter readings (ll. 1064 *sqq.*). Similarly, R I shares other common lines against G (495, 637, 739 and 1063), and agrees with C in ll. 888-889 where G substitutes two different lines. R I has also a single l. 52¹ for G's two distinctive lines, and although both agree in replacing the more common ll. 70-73 by two new lines, they differ in the second of these.² Other differences occur in, for example, ll 53 (and dates, R I] as men sayn, G),³ 67 (our] noble), 95 (yt⁴ ys] be), 124 (lyve] bene), 335 (woodasshen] ayschen), 354 (And yet⁵] Hit is, and 3it), 375 (ware] thynges), 388 (these⁶] the), 409 (conveye⁷] comme),

¹ R I reads: "And marchandise of that countre be these, / (l. 53) Figges," etc. The common line is "And marchandy, who so wyll wete what that is, / (l. 53) Bene fygues," etc. G replaces this single line by the following two: "And marchaundise of that contre / That charged is and commethe through the see / (l. 53) Bene fygues," etc.

² R I has: "And whan these Spanysshe shippes discharged be / They ar chargyd ageyn w^t Flaundressh merchandye." G reads: "And . . . ben / The marchandyse of Flaundres they charge hem aȝen."

³ R I's reading is given first; unless otherwise stated this is also the common reading.

⁴ "he," common reading.

⁵ Also in B C E F.

⁶ Also in B D F.

⁷ Peculiar to R I.

424 (powndys fele¹] penyes fele), 501 (thinges²] weel), 617 (To make this londe have] So myghte we have the), 635 (Shalbe put fro wynnynges all³] Schuld be put from thayr righte), 678 (shypps in for] therin schippys for), 774 (who that⁴] yf that ye), 885 (Of condicions twoo of] Of two c. as in), 1053 (of stremyte⁵] in cristiantee), 1062 (shulde be] have ben), 1119 (sluggely] sloggedly), 1139 (The deethe⁶] And hym). To these should be added the variants shared by R I with Harl. I against all other copies.⁷

That R I and Harl. I have a common origin is shown below.⁷ But, in spite of their numerous coincidences R I does not derive from Harl. I. Differences between them have been indicated in the course of the above collations, the most important being that R I does not share Harl. I's dropped lines or its divergence from G with l. 686; other differences are indicated below. For the first 685 lines Harl. I is nearer G than is R I. Thus, Harl. I and G have two distinctive lines for R I's single l. 52 and share l. 495 against R I, which here has the line more commonly found. Other agreements of Harl. I and G against R I in this portion of the work occur in, for example, ll. 53 (and dates, R I] as men sayne, Harl. I, G), 67 (our] nobull), 335 (woodasshen] ashen), 354 (And yet] Hit ys and yett), 375 (ware] thynges), 409 (conveye] comme), 424 (powndys fele] pens fele), 501 (thinges] wele), 617 (To make this londe have] So myghte we haue the), 678 (shypps in for] theron shyppys for). It is only on very rare occasions that R I and G share a distinctive variant against Harl. I in these 685 lines, namely, in ll. 393 (reigne, R II, G] reame, Harl. I), 394 (at sight] syth), 418 (a] a full) and 609 (so oft cast] cast).

R II, Harl. I and G. R II consists of eighty-seven lines only, made up of ll. 1-43, 931-951, the seven additional lines

¹ "pounde f.," common reading. "poundes fewe or f.," D E F.

² "thinge," common reading.

³ "Schalbe sone oute of wynnynges al," common reading; other copies have "showen," "sheven," and "shove" for "sone."

⁴ "who so," common reading.

⁵ *Sic.* A corruption of the common reading "strenuite."

⁶ *Sic.* for "Deite," the common reeding.

⁷ *V. inf.*, pp. 412-14.

replacing l. 993 of the established text, and the two stanzas of the envoy. R II, Harl. I and G share a number of readings which are not found in any other group of manuscripts, namely, "the soth to saye" (l. 4), "For them that saylen" (l. 5), "the townes of" (l. 16), "right" (l. 19), "the narrowe sea" (l. 42), the addition of "Phillip" in l. 43, "As (That) to him longed" (l. 939), and "well" (l. 943). R II and G also share three variants in the envoy, in ll. 1148 (fall), 1149 (him) and 1164 (myne), and show an affinity in another, in l. 1147 (sought out thruth, R II] sore sowghte trowthe, G);¹ the envoy is lacking in Harl. I. That R II was not copied from either G or Harl. I, however, is shown by the fact that the two latter have six complete lines in common (ll. 24-28) differing from those of R II, which here has the more usual readings, and by the following variants which they share against it:² ll. 2 (As toward] of owtterward), 9 (Whiche late regned] Of Rome and Almaine³), 21 (for kepyng of this (the, Harl. I)] and this³), 30 (opynly this compelled] at eye the full⁴), 32 (and to exclude] auenst fowle³), 33 (unto] and⁵), 36 our (om. Harl. I) swerdes kene] our swordes becum), 38 (on slepyth as I wene] it is fro by noome⁶), 41 (and exorte our ameralte] yf we will euer thee). In two places (ll. 12 and 14, see below) R II has a line peculiar to itself where G and Harl. I have the line more commonly found. Other disagreements of R II and Harl. I have already been noticed.⁷ In addition, R II has readings which do not occur in any other known copy; these are given in the subjoined list.

But although R II and Harl. I are independent of each other, they go back to a common original. Throughout, and in spite of the differences indicated, they exhibit a close relationship, sharing many entire lines, including the seven additional ones, against all other copies. This is shown below.⁸

The following entire lines are peculiar to R II: ⁹ Sayeng [sic]

¹ The remaining copies read "fro trougte."

² The readings of G and Harl. I are given first. Unless otherwise indicated R II's readings are also the common ones.

³ Peculiar to R II.

⁴ The common reading is "at eye thys."

⁵ The common reading is "and to."

⁶ The common reading is "hit is benome."

⁷ *Sup.*, pp. 390-91.

⁸ Pp. 412, 414.

⁹ Also the opening title, given *sup.*, p. 390, n. 2.

thus, ye might well take in hand (l. 12); If so well kept weare the narrowe sea (l. 14); In ¹ their apposall the[e] to cherish and aduaunce (l. 1145) / In hardines, wthout all variaunce (l. 1146). / Yf thou hast sought out thruth by experience (l. 1147), / As authors reason can fall in substaunce (l. 1148); To the treasurer of the highest honor (l. 1159), / Bishop ² Chicheley, I meane, all ³ barrons plentiuuss (l. 1160).

The following other variants are also peculiar to R II: ll. 9 (Whyche yet regneth] of Rome and Almaine), 21 (to kepe the] and this), 30 (thys] the full), 31 (concyens] good conscience), 32 (abusyon] fowle abusion), 34 (For iiij thynges] And for iiij things that), 35 (pouer] rule), 37 (bid] nowe biddne), 38 (is] is fro), 39 (weel] now), 40 (wolle] will my self), 41 (To] For to), 42 (to kepe] kepe we), 1142 (libelle] litle boke), 1144 (thee to take] to take the[e]), 1149: (to] all to), 1158 (The] To the; grettest hous] Kinges horse ⁴), 1161 (famous] right f.), 1162 (dulled] doblefied) and 1163 (them] to them); to these should be added the instances noticed above (p. 390) in ll. 941, 942, 946, 947 and 995.*

R III, Harl. I and G. R III comprises ll. 140-231 only. R III, Harl. I and G exhibit common characteristics which point to a close relationship between them. They agree in opposition to all other copies, in ll. 142-143, 146-147, 177, 186, 205, 211-212 (in each case an entire line) and in many other instances, e.g. in ll. 144 (woll not bene in causse ⁵] owe not (for *add.* Harl. I, G) to be the cause, R III, Harl. I, G), 152 (there] both), 174 (hathe bene] is), 203 (And compleyned] Letyng him weet), 204 (so] and sone), 215 (he dyd] at his), 216 (Of] These), 217 (the thyrde it is] and eke), 219 (set] and set), 221 (gode seemenne] to go to the see men), 223 (prysoners] p. manie), 226 (meny wode] navie (full *add.* G) goode); they also share too omissions, namely, in the titles before l. 150 (wyth here revers on the see) and l. 178 (the iiij^{de} hys).⁶

¹ It will be noticed that the meaning of ll. 1145-1149 is quite clear in R II. This is not the case with these lines in the established text, where the punctuation and meaning is in doubt, as Warner points out (p. 101).

² There is, of course, nothing unusual in the use of "Bishop," meaning "Archbishop." Chichele was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1414 to 1443.

³ That is, the three, including Chichele, to whom the work is submitted.

⁴ *Sic.*

⁵ The common readings are given first.

⁶ The former is also shared by B and the latter by B F.

Nevertheless, although the three have clearly a common original, R III was not derived from either Harl. I or G. Its differences from the former have already been indicated.¹ Its differences from the latter include three complete lines (194-195, 200) and many other variants and omissions which it shares with Harl. I against all other known copies. These are given in the next section.

Harl. I, R I, R II and R III. These four, the relationship of which has been considered above, are characterised and bound together by many special readings shared by Harl. I with R I, R II and R III against all other copies. These are :

Complete lines : Where apon they made a full conclusion / On trust whereof our merchauntes made hem bone (194-195) ; Hit cost them grette goodes and spendyng (200) ; Unto the Duc and he (than *add.* R I) dyd undurtake / Whith all his hert a full pees to make (236-237) ; And than (they, R I) schall in no wyse ther carttes thedyr stretch (539) ; So goddly a syghte was neuer seen and so stronge (933) ; Thay toke suche fere þer durste no straunger rowte (937) ; So goddely company of knyghtes shall we neuer see (938) ; That hys pepull wynter and somer wer well occupyed. / Thus I conclude as in kepyng of þ^e narowe see, / As the cronycle showeth by auctoryte, / That all nacyons wer subiectes (subiect, R II) to oure kynge, / And he (the, R II) lorde of the see at hys owne lykyng (943-947) ; But v dayes, as olde men tolde yt me, / Thay drownyd in the hauen att ij tydes / Seven vesselles in a sounde, whyche brake þer prydes. / Sone (Some, R II) oute of the hauen gan they glyde, / For fere of oure shyppes they durst not abyde. / Therfor I saye þ^t Calyce was be segyed, / By see and by londe full sore yt was greuyd (993, 993*-998*).²

Other variants : ³ 5 (north, est and west] e., n. or w.), 6 (kepe] and kepe), 8 (grete] grete and nobull), 54 (And] *om.*), 64 (merchandess] Spaynysshe marchauntes), 67 (By the costes to passe] To passe by the coste), 81 (But that hit most, this]

¹ *Sup.*, pp. 392-93.

² Ll. 993, 993*-998* are seven lines additional to the established text. They replace Warner's l. 993. For this incident cf. *The Brut* (ed. Brie, E.E.T.S., 136), p. 579.

³ The readings of the established text are given first.

That (But that, R I) þis forsayde), 82 (passe] muste passe), 87 (may well] of them may), 96 (Also] And also), 101 (Englysshe] owre E.), 104 (And yet] For), 106 (Hit] And yt), 107 (Wyth . . . mended] But yff yt w^t Englysshe wolle well (well *om.* R I) mellyd), 109 (Yf] So þat), 114 (is than] then ys), 118 (all] off; groweth in Flaundres] in Fl. growyth), 142 (set, G] þe see), 150 (wryten I hame] wryte I am full), 151 (the] *om.*), 153 (and wynes] w.), 158 (trewth] the trowth), 161 (oure marchauntes have] haue our merchantdys), 166 (Wyth suche] And thus thorowgh), 167 (And] And be), 171 (And robbed and brente] Robbyd brent; by] *om.*), 172 (they have] *om.*), 173 (the regnes of bost] dyuers reamys), 175 (are] byn), 181 (That] Which), 184 (But whene that] When that þe), 187 (and] he), 188 (felt] fownd; reule] kepe), 191 (And] *om.*; that tyme were] were þ^t tyme), 193 (At laste] And at þe last; they] *om.*), 199 (treuse] the trewys), 204 (and] of), 206 (of] *om.*), 210 (they did] dyd they), 224 (efte] *om.*), 227 (grete] *om.*; overe] *om.*), 228 (werred] went), 238 (the kynge] Kyng (Kyng *om.* R I) Edward our Kyng), 240 (made] made also), 243 (no more tyme had they] more had they nat at), 244 (of] and), 245 (marchauntes] m. euer), title before l. 246 (Of] *om.*), 258 (in] of), 266 (haburdasshers] haburdash), 267 (And] *om.*), 269 (chevesaunce] gouernaunce), 273 (Scotelonde] Scottes), 274 (ryght sone] *om.*), 283 (That] Which), 291 (when] as), 293 (that] the), 309 (And grey] gray), 310 (And] Also), 311 (Carde] Carde and), 334 (and] *om.*), 337 (wyth woll ageyne] agayn w^t woll), 338 (of owres of] of our), 343 (with] w^t ther), 352 (that] *om.*), 353 (Mighte] And myght), 364 (as] than), 365 (of . . . mane] no man of this mater), 368 (excepte be] be except), 369 (were] ys), 386 (and] *om.*), 396 (thys] our), 398 (bee] bees), 399 (commodite] commodites), 404 (schyppe this] shippyd that), 407 (ther they] *om.*), 419 (moste hym] him must), 425 (harde is] hit ys hard), 449 (well] *om.*), 461 (galeise were] galeys schuld be), 463 (myght be] were), 467 (Englysshe] E. mennys), 470 (For] But), 473 (shulde wee] we schuld), 481 (of] be), 489 (by . . . England] our Enggeland by hym), 490 (whate profite hathe bene of his] profit by his gret), 492 (and] nor; me] *om.*), 503 (Geftes] That yfftes), 511 (Moche] *om.*), 519 (schude] schall), 521 (Wyth]

Off), 525 (Iche] Euery), 527 (they] *om.*), 528 (Iresshmen] and I.), 531 (Seland] in S., 533 (of] by), 534 (And yff the Englysshe] That yff E. men ; in] at), 535 (bene] arn), 538 (shyppes schuldel p^t shippys), title before l. 542 (Of] *om.* ; marchaundyses] of merchauntdyse ; the] theyre), 544 (and] and also), 545 (als] *om.* ; and] and for), 546 (felles] fell), 547 (selles] sell), 549 (the] ther), 558 (thoughe] yff), 564 (For seyde is] *om.*), 565 (in . . . moche] as muche in vaw), 572 (well] *om.* ; in] through), 573 (by] by the), 574 (wee schulde] *om.*), 576 (cruell] *om.*), 580 (not] and nott), 582 (any] no maner), 589 (as] *om.*), 591 (the] that), 614 (to] *om.*), 626 (the] *om.*), 634 (here lyves put] put per lyues), title before l. 638 (coloure] pe colours), 645 (shuld . . . be] from enemyes sholde be), 649 (wotte ye] wyte yt), 650 (and] and oure), 652 (lyve] lye), title before l. 656 (policye and] the), 656 (but] *om.*), 663 (lambe] also lam), 680 (so] *om.*), 681 (can] *om.*), 721 (of] *om.* ; have] hathe), 775 (pleynly] priuely), 779 (it] *om.*), 843 (were] was), 917 (not fewe but] full), 918 (Full] *om.*), 931 (Suche . . . and] So grete a navye and suche a), 932 (There] Ther beynge), 934 (regaliche] ryally saylynge), 935 (and] and grete), 936 (oute] *om.*), 939 (To] As to ; natall] naturall), 940 (of nede have] he nede putt them to), 941 (Thus] To be ; of] off mor), 942 (espied] had well aspyed), 948 (for] myche), 949 (londe] regyon), 950 (I leve Edgar] Edgarus I leve hym), 951 (cronique] nobull cronycles), 1014 (the Holy] and the Holy), 1016 (grette] *om.*), 1036 (audacite] and a.), 1084 (for] of), and 1099 (than] *om.*).

As mentioned above, an unidentified seventeenth-century hand has noted at the foot of the last folio (27) of the Rylands manuscript : " Presented to y^e L. Archb. Chicheley by John Lidgate, anno domini 1436." The *Libelle* has not previously been associated with Lydgate¹ and if this statement implies

¹ Degenhart saw connexions between Lydgate's *Horse, Goose and Sheep* and the *Libelle*, although he was of the opinion that Lydgate could not be considered as the author of the latter (see his edition of the former in *Münchener Beiträge zur Rom. u. Engl. Philologie*, xix, 23, n. 1) ; his evidence even for a connexion is scanty and not very convincing, depending for the most part on similarity of wording in four lines (*Libelle*, ll. 1100-1101, 1090-1091 ; *H, G, and Sh*, ll. 536, 456 sqq.). The meanderings of *H, G, and Sh* have nothing in common with the brisk and business-like tone of the *Libelle*.

that he was the author—as presumably it does, for he would hardly present another writer's work—it would require much substantiation. Lydgate's works and supposed works have received much attention from the sixteenth century downwards, and various lists of them have been compiled, but the *Libelle* is not included in any, from that of Bale (1548, 1559) to the canon drawn up in 1911;¹ this in spite of the fact that the compilers of the earlier lists spread their net very wide, including many spurious items, and that two of them are roughly contemporary with the present ascription, namely, those of Stow (1598) and Pits (1619). Nor does there appear to be any other external support for the statement, direct or indirect. All the known manuscripts are anonymous and those who might be assumed to be best acquainted with the work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give no indication that they were aware of the author's name; Hakluyt, for example, by whom it was first printed in 1598,² and who had a wide acquaintance with materials of a similar nature, or Evelyn, who refers to it familiarly in his *Navigation and Commerce* (1674),³ while Selden, in his *Mare Clausum* (1635),⁴ writes of it as the work of a "versificator anonymus." In the absence of external support we are thrown back on internal evidence. It is doubtful whether the well-known Lydgatian tests of rhyme and metre have the absolute value claimed for them, and such tests have been submitted to much criticism.⁵ The results so far obtained from their application (some of them startling) seem to depend for the most part on the evidence of statistical tables, here introduced into a sphere to which they do not belong, and, for the rest, vary with individual taste. In the present case they need not detain us long; from this point of view the *Libelle* has already been correctly dismissed as "a mere slither of words," "the average product of the fifteenth-century tendency to put into verse

¹ By H. N. MacCracken in his edition of Lydgate's minor poems, part i (E.E.T.S., Extra Ser. cvii). See also Hammond, *English Verse*, p. 99.

² See the preface to his *Voyages*, vol. i (1598).

³ P. 72.

⁴ P. 438.

⁵ See, for example, Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 *sqq.*, and her criticism of the 1911 Lydgate canon in *Anglia Beiblatt*, xxiv, 140-145; Sieper, *Lydgate's Reson and Sensuallyte* (E.E.T.S., Extra Ser. 89), pp. 1-2; and, more generally, Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition*, pp. 50-51.

any kind of information."¹ But there are stronger grounds than those based on arguments from rhyme and metre for denying the *Libelle* to Lydgate. His main characteristics are well known and it is only necessary to place the *Libelle* side by side with any of his numerous works to realise that its author was a man of very different personality from the "humble monk of Bury," with qualities which he nowhere shows signs of possessing. On the one hand we have, throughout a large volume of verse, a consistent lifelessness, dullness of perception and poverty of ideas,² on the other a vigorous and assertive originality, which, in its far-sighted appreciation of the importance of geographical position, produced a work without parallel in its time or for two hundred years afterwards.³ Or, again, a timid ultra-conservatism and compliance, working always with one eye on a patron, contrasted with the independent views and outspoken criticisms of the *Libelle*, set down by one firmly convinced of the correctness of his own opinions;⁴ there is nothing of Lydgate's exaggerated self-depreciation in that work, and its author would have had little patience with the dictum that poets should "non estat with ther language greeve."⁵

¹ Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 243.

² The characteristics of Lydgate mentioned here are sufficiently well known to make detailed references to particular poems unnecessary. For the best appreciations see Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas* (E.E.T.S., Extra Ser. 60), chap. x; Hammond, *English Verse*, pp. 77 *sqq.*; with some suggested modifications in Erdmann and Ekwall, *L.'s Siege of Thebes* (E.E.T.S., Extra Ser. cxxv), pp. 14 *sqq.*

³ It was, incidentally, in the middle thirties of the fifteenth century that the earlier part of the *Black Book of the Admiralty* was probably written.

⁴ Cf. e.g. He that seyth nay in wytte is lyche an asse (*Libelle*, l. 83); Hit is of lytell valeue, trust unto me (106); And he that trustith not to my sentence, etc. (370); Expoune me this and ye shall sothe it fynde, etc. (584); Yf men were wyse, etc. (600); Sey ye not this sothe is? (627); And I knowe well (756); For lytell wenythe the fole, etc. (826); I thereone dyd crye [but] the worlde was deaf (847); The wyse lorde baron of Hungerforde / Hathe thee [the *Libelle*] oversene, and verrily he seithe / That thow arte trewe . . . Nexte the Gospell (1151-1154); Go forthe, trewe book, and Criste defende thi ryghte (1156). Notice that in his choice of padding phrases he is fond of "trust to me" or "to my saying" e.g. ll. 27, 106, 369.

⁵ Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, iii, 3832. *The Fall of Princes* was written between 1431 and 1438. Lydgate's later period (from 1412 to his death) is characterised by such lengthy and monotonous translations, by his *Legends*, and by his short minor poems.

Nor does Lydgate anywhere give his reader reason for suspecting that he possessed the detailed and practical knowledge of trade-routes and of the mercantile system of Western Europe shown in the *Libelle*, or for assuming that he was capable of writing a political treatise on Ireland.¹ His political poems are comparatively few in number and all are mild and conventional, revealing no appreciation of political realities and none of the fervour and personal feeling of the *Libelle*; for example, the *Epithalamium For Gloucester*, written to please his patron and showing "complacent ignorance of the actual political situation."² Such political views as he expresses (the prevailing ones) are in direct contrast with those set forth in the *Libelle*; witness his verses *On the English Title to the Crown of France* (1426), a translation written to order,³ or the last seven lines of his *Prayer for King, Queen and People* (1429).⁴ His poems on *Peace* (1443, 1444)⁵ are simply conventional eulogies and the short *Ballade in Despyte of the Flemynges*⁶ has no peculiar features, being merely one of the many rhymes called forth by the relief of Calais; with regard to the latter contrast the unseemly remarks on Flemish drinking habits made by the author of the *Libelle*⁷ which are quite un-Lydgatian.⁸ Moreover, it was between 1431 and 1438 that Lydgate's heaviest undertaking, the *Fall of Princes*, was executed; it was written for Gloucester, a leading representative of precisely that narrow militaristic policy against which the *Libelle* was directed. The only evidence for adding the *Libelle* to the works of Lydgate is the note, in an unidentified seventeenth-century hand, in the Rylands manuscript, and in itself it is insufficient. It seems

¹ The author of the *Libelle* announces his intention of doing this in ll. 712, 754, 775.

² Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 144. See further *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

³ Printed in Wright, *op. cit.*, ii, 131. On this poem see the article by B. J. H. Rowe in *The Library*, 4th Ser., vol. xiii, where it is associated with the genealogical tree depicted in B.M. Royal MS. 15. E. VI, f. 3.

⁴ MacCracken, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁵ Wright, ii, 209 *sqq.* Contrast the practical suggestions in the *Libelle*, e.g. Warner, pp. 54-55.

⁶ Ascribed to Lydgate by MacCracken in *Anglia*, xxxiii, 283. Printed in *The Brut* (ed. Brie), pp. 600-601.

⁷ Warner, p. 15.

⁸ Cf. MacCracken, *Minor Poems*, p. ix.

probable that the writer of the note fell into the common error of ascribing a work to Lydgate merely because it is frequently found bound up with other pieces by him,¹ as is the *Libelle*. As regards the remaining part of his statement, the date 1436 and the introduction of Chichele's name, the former can be obtained from internal evidence and, judging from other references of the time, was in any case well known. For the reference to Chichele it was only necessary to turn to the first written page of the Rylands manuscript, on which is the envoy mentioning him as one of the three members of the Council to whom the work was submitted. Unfortunately no further evidence for or against the connexion of the *Libelle* with Chichele has been found. Chichele was neither a vivid nor a striking figure² and does not appear to have been a violent partisan. His position, however, would give him a pre-eminent place in the Council, and it may be that this combination would attract the attention of the author of the *Libelle*.

Since Warner's suggestion, based on circumstantial evidence, of Adam Moleyns as the author, a correction has been made in the accepted facts concerning the latter's parentage.³ It has been shown that he was not a Lancashire Molyneux and that the two names are quite distinct. This involves a correction in Warner's biography,⁴ and a modification in two places of his arguments; namely, respecting Moleyns' connexion with Sir Thomas Stanley,⁵ and the use of the word "wyrlynge," which, as apparently confined to dialects of north-western counties, he cites as a minor point in favour of Moleyns' authorship of the *Libelle*.⁶

¹ As did Halliwell, frequently, in his *Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* (1840). Note also that the names "Lidgate" and "Brough" were written by another hand on f. 1, a former back, of the Rylands manuscript (v. sup., pp. 386, 387).

² See E. F. Jacob, *Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele* (reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 16), p. 3.

³ See Ernest Axon, "Bishop Adam Moleyns," in *Trans. of the Lanc. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, vol. li (1936).

⁴ Warner, p. xl. Also in the *D.N.B.*

⁵ Warner, p. xxxiii and n. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xlv, n. 1.

